

A
R E P O R T
OF THE
DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
OF
I R E L A N D,
ON WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY THE 15TH AND
16TH OF JANUARY, 1800.
ON AN
AMENDMENT TO THE ADDRESS
MOVED BY
SIR LAURENCE PARSONS, BART.
ON THE SUBJECT OF
A N U N I O N.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED FOR JAMES MOORE, NO. 45, COLLEGE-GREEN.

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1800.

REPORT

OF THE

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

IRISH

ON THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE

ON THE

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DUBLIN

PRINTED FOR JAMES MOORE, NO. 10, NASSAU-STREET

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1860.

THE Speaker and Members having returned after attending his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, in the House of Peers, a copy of the Speech was read from the Chair as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Have received his Majesty's commands to assemble you in Parliament.

" Upon a review of the important and glorious events that have distinguished the period which has elapsed since I last addressed you, the most gratifying and encouraging reflections present themselves to our consideration.

" By the brilliant course of victories achieved by the combined Imperial armies, the various kingdoms and states of Italy have been delivered from the ravages and the tyranny of the French.

" The throne of Naples and our friendly connection with that kingdom have been restored.

" The French expedition to Egypt has been checked in its career by the exertions of the Turkish arms, assisted by a small detachment of his Majesty's forces, and the gallantry of their heroic commander.

" The hostile plans of the common enemy in India have terminated in the total destruction of the power which had been misled by their artifices, and through the timely, vigorous and decisive counsels of the Marquis Wellesley, and the consummate skill and valour of his Majesty's generals, officers and troops, the British possessions in that quarter of the globe have been beneficially extended and effectually secured.

" By

" By the descent of his Majesty's forces and of his Russian allies on the coast of Holland, the Dutch fleet has been happily rescued from the power of the enemy; and although the season, peculiarly unfavourable to military operations, produced the necessity of relinquishing an enterprize so fortunately begun, and prevented the complete accomplishment of his Majesty's views, yet the result of that expedition has been peculiarly beneficial to this kingdom, in removing all fear of attack on our coasts from a quarter whence it had been so often planned, and in enabling his Majesty's fleets to direct their vigilance exclusively to the single port from which the enemy can attack this country with any hope even of a temporary success.

" My utmost care has been exerted to carry into execution the extraordinary powers which you have committed to my discretion with vigour and at the same time with moderation; all tendency to insurrection has been effectually repressed; but it gives me true concern to acquaint you, that the painful necessity of acting with severity has been too frequently imposed upon me; and although public tranquillity has been in a great measure restored, yet I have to lament that a disposition to outrage and conspiracy still continues in several districts; that much industry is used to keep alive the spirit of disaffection, and to encourage among the lower classes the hopes of French assistance.

" I trust that the recent revolution in France cannot fail to open the eyes of such of his Majesty's subjects as have been deluded by the artifices which have been unremittingly employed to withdraw them from their allegiance, and that it will restore and increase the love of constitutional order and of regulated freedom, by demonstrating that the principles of false liberty tend ultimately to despotism, and that the criminal struggles of democratic faction naturally close in military usurpation.

" So long as the French government, under whatever form it exerts its influence, shall persevere in schemes of destruction and projects of ambition subversive at once of the liberties of Europe and of the security of his Majesty's dominions, there can be no wise alternative but to prosecute the war with increasing energy. It is by great exertions alone that either their views of aggrandizement can be frustrated or a solid peace procured.

" His Majesty has therefore availed himself, with peculiar satisfaction, of the cordial and great assistance which has been afforded him by his faithful ally the Emperor of Russia, and has thought right to make every exertion for augmenting the disposable military force of his own dominions; his Majesty therefore has been highly gratified in accepting the services so generously offered by his English militia, and I am to express to you the entire confidence which his Majesty feels that the zeal and loyalty of his militia of this kingdom, in forwarding at this important

crisis

crisis the active operations of the Empire will not be less prompt and conspicuous.

"The apprehensions of general scarcity which some time since took place called for my early attention to this most important subject, and I was induced, with the advice of the council, to offer premiums for the early importation of grain. This measure will, I flatter myself, meet your approbation, and I have full confidence in your wisdom, if it shall be necessary to resort to any further extraordinary means for procuring a supply.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"The evident necessity of securing this kingdom from every danger, whether foreign or domestic, and of rendering the success of invasion, if attempted, impracticable, will demonstrate to you the wisdom of continuing that enlarged system of defence you have so wisely adopted.

"I have therefore ordered the public accounts and estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you, and have the fullest confidence that in the supply which such a situation shall appear to you to require, you will equally consult the safety of the kingdom and the honour of his Majesty's government.

"I am induced to hope that the great increase of the revenue which has taken place in the present year may enable you to raise the sums which may be wanted for the current services without any distressing addition to the burthens of the people.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I recommend to your usual attention the agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture of Ireland; and I doubt not that the Protestant charter schools, and those public institutions, whether of charity or education, which have been protected by your liberality, will still receive a judicious encouragement.

"It will be for your wisdom to consider how far it will be necessary to continue any of those extraordinary powers with which you have strengthened the authority of his Majesty's government for the more effectual suppression and punishment of rebellious conspiracy and outrage.

"His Majesty places the most entire reliance upon your firmness and wisdom, and he has no doubt that you will anxiously pursue such measures as shall be best calculated for bringing the present war to an honourable termination, and for restoring the country to permanent tranquillity.

"It will be my constant object to attend to your suggestions and advice, that I may by this means most beneficially accomplish the commands

commands I have received from his Majesty, and most effectually forward the interests and happiness of this kingdom."

Lord Viscount LORRUS moved a suitable and consonant Address which his lordship previously prefaced in handsome terms, and in substance as follows:—"His lordship felt happy at the occasion he was then favoured with, to pay a suitable tribute of acknowledgment to our gracious Sovereign's pre-eminent virtues, who, by his salutary invincible councils, and conquering arms, had paralyzed the revolutionary ambition of the common enemy, that chiefly aimed a barbarous blow at the British Empire, and particularly at this country; which his Majesty had benevolently reinforced on the spur of a dangerous moment, with an infusion of Britain's political wisdom, and a powerful co-operation of Britain's triumphant forces, so as to render it impregnable, and secure against the worst machinations of domestic and foreign revolutionists. Thus while his Majesty rallied and inspired his allies on the continent of Europe with a glorious spirit, and persevering vigour, to maintain that just and necessary struggle in which Europe had a common interest for the sake of religion and regular government, he at the moment improved the condition of British subjects on the broad and generous basis of the Empire, and thus deserved the warmest affection of a free people, and the unceasing applause of a virtuous posterity, whose happiness and interests our gracious Sovereign had by such undeviating, and undaunted means secured. His Majesty's persevering policy opened the eyes of all his Allies, while his effectual power still heartened them to fresh exertions; exertions which at last in a single campaign repressed the French from the most of their aggressions, and which at the moment promise to completely restrain the perfidious foe, that wars against thrones and altars, within at least unoffending limits.

While such was the advantaged predicament of the powers in alliance with England, what was the situation of the British Empire itself? Its present uncommonly flourishing circumstances, after the unprecedented dangers and difficulties encountered and conquered by his Majesty's amazing political prudence and military efficiency, constitutes the best proofs of its resources and commerce, while it publishes a lasting encomium on the Monarch's glorious reign. No Monarch met more perilous times, or more abominable enemies—his Majesty's enemies were the enemies of mankind, against whose ferocious efforts he had not merely to defend the shores of these countries, but to protect the minds of his favoured subjects from the contagion of their principles. The contest with such a perfidious foe—a foe whose debasing friendship was worse than actual war, should still be carried forward, until the enemy's barbarous wish shall be entirely frustrated, in proving to him by more reverses, that his project of universal domination must be relinquished in misfortunes, and until the foundation of his resources
shall

shall be removed, by completely repelling him from invading and plundering neighbouring nations. The present prospect of affairs was brighter than heretofore, and must invite an enthusiastic following up of the coalition's common cause. When the revolutionary monster's stride spread terror throughout Europe, his Majesty was undismayed in that gloomy season of universal indecision and dismay: the fleets of our Sovereign on the ocean soon supplied the unsalutary pause in allied operations; the victory of Lord Nelson off the Nile, restored the affrighted genius of Europe, and lessened the world, that the French Republic was not invincible. The immediate effects of this victorious affair were great and glorious. A spirit was communicated by it from the south to the north of Europe. The allies were rallied in its splendor, while its blow broke the maritime parade of France to pieces; while its protection secured the Ottoman government, and its instantancous benefit extended to our invaluable Eastern settlements. This was an outline of the external glory of the British Empire, which at home gave unequalled privileges—the guarantee of popular freedom and domestic peace, as the foundations of that prosperity which British subjects so much possess. In such circumstances, the Prince and people had a like interest, from such a principle of national strength, the palace and cottage derived mutual blessings. Thus the British Monarch was distinguished as the Father of his People, which honourable distinction the present French Usurper admitted, in his recent perfidious overtures toward pacification, addressing him as the ruler of a people, free and happy under his reign.

Col. CROSBIE seconded the address.

Sir LAURENCE PARSONS began by desiring the Lord Lieutenant's Speech at the conclusion of the last session to be read. This speech, says he, recommends from his Majesty the measure of an incorporating Union with England. The Minister, however, prevented us from giving an answer to his Majesty at the time, by a sudden prorogation.—He wishes also to prevent us from giving an answer now, having studiously omitted any mention of the subject in that speech. The reason is obvious to every man in this House. From the time that we rejected that measure last session, the Minister has employed every engine of the Government, and endeavoured by the most unwarrantable practices to pervert the sentiments of the Parliament on that subject—and he does not wish that you should take it into consideration until his machinations are complete. If those in power thought an Union would be a beneficial measure for these kingdoms they would be right in proposing it—but then they should propose it to the free, uninfluenced, uncontaminated sentiment of Parliament—instead of which means have been used which would render this measure if carried, not an act of the Parliament, but

an act of Despotism: It matters not whether you, the Representatives of this great nation, are turned out of that door by the sword of the army, or the gold of the Treasury—by a Cromwell or by a Secretary—in both cases the treason against the Constitution is the same. One of the greatest offences of James the II. was attempting to pack a Parliament—What is the offence that I arraign now?—It is that the Minister of the Crown is prostituting the prerogative of appointing to places in order to pack a Parliament. The transaction is too glaring—a string of men are to go out who were against the Union, in order that a string of men may come in who are for it. Any thing so barefaced has not appeared in either kingdoms since the days of that abdicated Monarch: Are we then to sit supinely here until his practices are matured?—Are we to wait while we see the serpent collecting himself in his coils, only to spring upon us with greater violence, and not strike at him now?—Are any measures to be kept with a Government, which is proceeding against your Constitution by such foul means?—Does not the time in which the English Ministers have determined to attempt the Union prove that they mean to take an *unfair advantage of Ireland*?—They first attempted it during the weakness and distraction of this country, and in the last session, and though rejected by this House, and condemned universally by the nation, they are preparing to renew the attack now; while the spirit of the people is still depressed by recent troubles—while the country is covered with armies far greater than ever were known here before—while Martial Law prevails, and a formidable invasion is menaced—in short, while apprehensions from without and from within preclude all free exercise of the public mind upon this fatal project, they hope to trample on the Independency of Ireland. If English Ministers, indeed, meant fairly by this country, would they not wait till a moment of peace to propose the Union, for upon no principle of sound or honest policy does it require a hasty decision. Your Constitution which has existed for six hundred years, might without much risk be suffered to endure a little longer. A time of war and disturbance is not the most favourable for making a fundamental change in the Constitutions of an old Empire—a work which of all others, requires calm and deep contemplation. Recollect this too, the present Prime Minister of England went into office the declared friend of a Reform in Parliament, yet ever since the commencement of the French Revolution, whenever that subject has been mentioned, the language of him and all his associates has been, that this was no season to make any change in the Constitution; yet these men propose now to make a Union, which is to annihilate two-thirds of this Parliament, to transfer the remainder to England and incorporate it with the Parliament there, making a more fundamental change in the Constitutions of both countries than ever

ever was suggested, and this too at the very time when they declare, that it is unfit to make any constitutional change whatsoever. Does not this then prove that it is not the fitness or the unfitness of the time that they consider, but their own present strength, and your accidental weakness, in order to take advantage of you.

If any one asks why should a British cabinet wish to take advantage of Ireland, and put down its Constitution? I ask why was British supremacy ever assumed? why was the 6th of George I., ever enacted? why, in three years after it was repealed, was its principle attempted to be revived in the Propositions? The answer is, because the ministers of any nation upon earth would wish to obtain for their own country a domination over any other that could be prevailed on to submit to it. In fact, the ministers of England have never ceased to regret the cession of independency which was made to this country in 1782; in three years after they attempted to recover it partially in the Propositions, and being defeated there, they formed the scheme of recovering it totally in the Union. This appeared in the extract of the Duke of Portland's letter to Lord Fitzwilliam, where he says, that postponing the Catholic measure would be a means of obtaining for England a greater benefit than any that has occurred since the Revolution, or at least since the Union. Every one saw that it was a Union with this country which was then in contemplation, and that the English government were determined to profit by the divisions among yourselves in order to effect it: this was above three years before the rebellion; though they now pretend that it is only in consequence of this rebellion, and in compassion to Ireland, as a cure for all its disorders, that this Union is proposed. In short, every thing concurs to prove that the Union is wholly a project to regain the power which England relinquished to you in 1782, whatever may be the colour under which they would now disguise their proceedings.

But this Union will not only deprive you of that Constitution which you established in 1782, but of a great deal more; for formerly, even in Ireland's humblest days, she retained a Parliament of her own, and though the English Parliament claimed and exercised at times a power of making laws to bind this country, yet its right to do so was never admitted by the Irish Parliament. But the measure projected now would sweep every vestige of a Parliament off the land, and a remnant of your members, at 400 miles distance, in another kingdom, in an assembly where they would be but a cypher, with nearly six to one to overrule them on every question, would in future be the only guardians of the rights and properties of this great nation, the poor and impotent shadows of its former power!

Is it not as clear as that 558 is a greater number than 100, that after a Union it is the English Parliament that will rule you, instead of you ruling yourselves? And when the English Parliament had the power of ruling you, what was its conduct which should induce you to submit to that power again?—It made laws for you from time to time from the Revolution to the year 1782; but shew me one law among the number that was favourable to your rights or liberties? What indeed were the laws it made for you but pains and penalties, restricting your commerce and locking up all the springs of your wealth?

On the other hand see what your own Parliament has done for your country, and in the memory of many who hear me, though it is decried and disparaged now.—In the first place, it passed the Octennial law; in doing so, its members, who were elected for life, made the noblest sacrifice of any assembly upon record, voluntarily putting an end to their power, and rendering back the elective right to the people; again, in 1779, the Irish Parliament recovered the Commercial Liberties of this country, in direct opposition to the minister of the crown here, and thus established that Freedom of Trade, the benefit of which every man in the nation at this day experiences, and which had been so long withheld from it by the ungenerous policy of England. Is it for this that we are to depose our own Parliament, and render the English Parliament in future omnipotent over this country?—Again, the Irish Parliament rendered the judges independent of the crown as in England, and thereby secured, as far perhaps as human institution can, the pure administration of justice in this country, one of the greatest blessings a people can enjoy. It also passed the Habeas Corpus act, and thus obtained for the Irish nation that writ which has always been esteemed one of the best shields of personal freedom.

Again when the English Minister attempted to subject this country to a perpetual mutiny law, your own Parliament soon repealed that law, and recovered that constitutional controul over the army, which is necessary to the very existence of liberty; it also rescued our constitution, from the many perversions of the law of Poynings, which had so long obstructed its legislative functions; it also relieved this country from the arbitrary power of embargo, which the English Ministers used from time to time, to lay upon our provisions, to the severe loss of every farmer through the land, and to the ruin of many, as is well remembered. I omit many other instances, and I ask, is it for these acts, that our Parliament is to be annihilated, and our country subjected to that very power, from which so many oppressions flowed? What do we see through all those proceedings, but the virtuous struggles of our own Parliament, to obtain substantial benefits for Ireland, and the efforts of British Parliaments and
British

British Ministers, to withhold them? And now, after we have recovered our independency so gloriously but a short time ago—shall we ourselves, who have a fresh recollection of all our former sufferings, and who have been witnesses and actors at the restoration of our rights, shall we, I say, lay them again at the feet of that legislature; which so long trampled upon them, and at the same time, root out of our land, every remnant of our ancient Parliaments, by whose virtues we obtained them.

I grant that there have been imperfections in our own Parliament, and what human institution is free from them? I grant, and I lament that there has not always been found, that purity in them, which was to be wished—but still I say, instead of viewing too fastidiously their blemishes, let us look to all their great acts, and we shall find, that if in little matters they had frailties and faults, yet in great, they have continually displayed proud and lofty virtues; nay, I defy any man who hears me, to name so many benefits conferred upon the kingdom of England, in the same space of time by its Parliament, as I have just enumerated, as having been conferred on this country by ours—no, nor any thing like it—yet, I merely speak of what has passed in our Parliament, within the memory of many who hear me, and I will give the advocate for the English Parliament a whole century for his parallel,

I desire, therefore, those who talk of the subserviency of Irish Parliaments, to state facts, and say, when did the English Minister experience such opposition from an English, as he has from the Irish Parliament? Witness the Propositions—witness the Union last session. It is that spirited opposition, which provokes him now to pursue you to destruction. The English Parliament has never resisted him—it has yielded to all his projects—therefore he is impatient of controul, being used to reign omnipotent there;—yet his emissaries here would traduce you, and represent you as a mean, subservient assembly, meriting annihilation; while the Parliament of Britain they extol to the skies. Some also object, that speeches, having, what they call, a republican tendency, have been delivered in this House:—If that be sufficient reason for annihilating the Parliament of Ireland, it is a much stronger reason for annihilating the Parliament of England; for the same charge, and much oftener, has been made against that assembly;—and therefore those who argue thus, should propose, not the Union, but the abolition of the Parliaments of both kingdoms;—others complain, that schemes of Parliamentary Reform, Commutations of Tythes, &c. have been proposed here:—Every man, it is said, has some project. Pray, have not similar schemes been repeatedly proposed in the English Parliament? Is not the present Prime Minister there, the parent of all the projects for Reform there and here? Did not he
first

first hold forth to the people of England, a picture of the inadequacy of their representation, and call for a rectification of it? It is no wonder, therefore, that he should have set that subject afloat here, where the representation is so much more unequal than in England:—And as to the Commutation of Tythes, is it not one of the projects with which he at present labours?—Are such schemes then a reason for extinguishing the Parliament of this country, and perpetuating that of England, where the delinquency, if any there be, in making such propositions, is still greater.

Again, it is said, some Gentlemen thought so poorly of this Parliament some time ago, that they seceded from it. Has not exactly the same happened in England? In short, take one by one, all the objections which you hear stated against our Parliament, and I will undertake to shew, that precisely the same objections, &c. in a greater degree obtain against the Parliament of England. But unfortunately for this country, there is a disposition in some here, to look too much up to that nation, and to look too much down on ourselves, and it is observing such a disposition here, that tempts the English Minister to persevere in so monstrous a proposal, which would not be tolerated by any free country upon earth, namely, that the British Parliament should govern you, instead of you governing yourselves. Ask any man in England down to the meanest peasant, whether he would wish to have his Parliament there abolished, and the Irish Parliament, with a few members from England, to make laws for his country in future? would he not think the man mad who asked him such a question! And can that, which every man would deem the extreme of folly or madness there, be found sense here? Or why should not you have the same feeling about your country? Is not your's as fair an island, a more fertile soil, and not less intelligent people?—You see many of the people of that country every day; there are some of them in this house—I speak of them with all respect; but in what, I ask, are they superior to you? Why then give up the Government of yourselves, which no nation did ever yet give up, that was able to keep it, and let them govern for you? What is the meaning of that assertion which we daily hear, that you would be so much better governed by an English Parliament than by your own? What is it, but a degrading and disgusting libel upon Irish understandings and Irish virtues, an unfounded defamation of our national character, which would depict you the representatives of a populous and flourishing nation, as men of such mean capacity and sordid vice, that you ought in mercy to your country to depose yourselves, and surrender up the dominion of your native land to your aspiring neighbours? God has given you a fruitful territory. God has given you sound bodies and minds. I do not see in what you are not equal to other
nations,

nations, except in not thinking yourselves so. Feel yourselves as you are, and you will see no more reason, that the English nation should legislate for the Irish, than the Irish for the English.—At the first settlement of the English here, our Constitution was established on terms of equality with England. Again in 1782 the settlement was revised and re-established on terms of perfect equality. Why should you sink from that situation now? in what do you feel yourselves diminished or degraded from that time to this? At that time, when at the great Dungannon meeting, Ulster asserted the rights of Ireland, and when the other provinces re-echoed the triumphant accents of Ulster, did Ireland feel incompetent to legislate for herself? Was there any one in the island from one extremity to the other, who boasted Irish birth or Irish blood, that doubted that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, were alone the proper persons to make laws for Ireland? Was not this the creed of that day to which all ranks and orders every where bowed? Yet what do we hear now? that the Parliament of Ireland is unfit to legislate for Ireland—and that the English Parliament with a small infusion from your country, ought to legislate for you in future. How would such a sentiment have been received within these walls in the year 1782? How in any part of this island in those days? Or what was the bribe which could have tempted the most sordid of our countrymen to propose the extinction of your Parliament at that period! I ask then, has all that dignified and lofty spirit which animated us then forsaken us now, and are we really a poor, fallen, degraded, and servile people? Have two or three years of untoward circumstances wrought this change? Has the short paroxysm of a rebellion so broken our fortitude, and subdued our spirits, that we are willing to sink into such abjection? Or have our unfortunate religious schisms so exasperated and divided us, that in a fit of wrath against each other, we shall foolishly betray the rights of all? Was this the conduct of our ancestors who lived in more arduous times, amidst more raging animosities, and more terrible civil wars. Quite the contrary—a patriotic spirit even in their worst days elevated their minds; and though they struggled with each other for dominion, they united in one thing, and that was, whoever was in power, to preserve the Parliamentary Constitution of their Country. Every Irishman felt interested in the prosperity of Ireland, in its glory and in its power; and thus, they brought their country through the greatest difficulties, and preserved their liberties amidst the greatest dangers.

I am aware it will be said, that though the English Parliament formerly treated this Country so ill, it does not follow, that it will do so in future, that the disposition of that country is changed, and a great deal more to this purpose. As to this change of disposition in England, I only appeal to what every representative of the

the English Minister here has said since the commencement of the present war on the subject of the channel trade. They have every one, and the noble Lord among the number, though obliged to admit the right of Ireland, to have this trade settled on terms of equality, stated, that the English Minister was afraid by doing so, of irritating the manufacturers of England? This is the language of the other day, just the same as it was twenty years ago, when we got the Free Trade, and fifteen years ago, when we discussed the Propositions—and such will be the language to the end of time, for one commercial state will always be jealous of the commerce of another. Let no man, therefore, dupe you by talking of a change in dispositions, which are founded on the immutable nature of man; or persuade you that your commerce will ever be as safe under the controul of the representatives of that nation which has always been strenuous to restrict it, as of your own Parliament, which has always been strenuous to set it free, and which has succeeded in doing so.—You may be told too, that after a Union it will be the interest of England to promote the prosperity of this Country. The same argument might be used for any country whatsoever, becoming a province to any other. But what does the history of all nations from the beginning of time to the present day prove? That however it might be the interest of the principal state to promote the prosperity of its dependencies, it never has done so, but the very reverse.—Witness the most renowned provinces of ancient Rome, how they sunk in succession into poverty and contempt under the subjection of that power. Yet it might have been said formerly among those states, as some rash men now say among us: Let Rome govern you, and you will prosper, for it will be her interest then to promote your prosperity. The same might be said in Poland the other day, for succumbing under the dominion of the partitioning Potentates. The same might have been said since in Holland, or Switzerland, for submitting to the domination of France. But is there a wise man upon earth that would not say, however any other country may promise to promote your prosperity, if you submit to its sway, no country ever will promote it so well as you will yourselves.

Some may expect to secure by the articles of the Union itself such terms as will promote the future prosperity of our country. It is easy however, to shew that this is a vain expectation. In the first place, the terms of the Union can only establish general principles, but in the application of them afterwards, you are perpetually liable to circumvention. In the next place, the circumstances of manufacture and commerce, are continually changing, so that no human foresight can discover at present, what regulations may be useful, or what pernicious some time hence; this

this would be true in any ordinary time, but in this, while a political revolution in France is in progress, which must probably be followed by a greater commercial revolution than any that ever changed the face of Europe, the observation has ten-fold weight. It is vain therefore to hope, that you can secure the prosperity of your Country by any stipulations you make now, few of which ten years hence may be applicable. But even admitting they were, what security, I ask, can you have for the observance of them? Can you have a stronger security than the original contract of Henry the Second—and the great Charter of King John—and the ratification of it by Henry the Third—all securing to this nation an internal legislature of its own citizens, consecrated by the usage of six hundred years, and confirmed by the acts of 1782? Can there be any thing in an Union so sacred or inviolable as this, which yet the machinations of the English Government are about to take away from you? Or do the people of Ireland think that, if with a Parliament in their own country, they cannot preserve this Constitution, without one they can preserve the stipulations of the Union.

As to the old arguments that this country will be benefited, if a Union takes place, by extension of trade, and Englishmen with capital coming over here, the delusion about them is pretty well at an end. Every man knows now, that we have the same liberty of trading every where that England has, and therefore that she has nothing to give us, except the channel trade, which is of little consequence, and which we have been assured of as our right without an Union. Nor are many now deluded by the expectation of English capitalists settling here to carry on trade and manufactures, who have never settled in Wales, though it is as well situated for trade as this country; has as fine harbours, and has an Union with England since the reign of Henry VIII. In truth, we have nothing to gain. See now what we have to lose. It is a moderate supposition that our loss by absentees would be nearly doubled by an Union. In the first place, the peers there is a necessary attraction between the crown and the peerage, which nothing but a resident legislature here could counter-vail; they will almost all become absentees, and they are the principal proprietors. Then the representatives of the Commons, men little inferior to the peers in fortune; then those whom fashion and a distaste for provincial government will take away, then the families, connections and followers of the whole. I omit many minor considerations, and I say that the loss by absentees would be nearly doubled by the Union. Now 20 years ago that loss was estimated at one million and a half yearly; and from the rise of rents since it must have considerably increased; to take it therefore on the lowest supposition, we must state it at one million a year. Now what in the name of Heaven can an Union give which
would

would compensate this country for such a loss. Suppose that in 1782 an Union had been adopted instead of the Constitution of that period, it is eighteen years since then, which at a million a year would amount to eighteen millions, and which as it is to be considered as so much taken out of its encreasing state here during that time must be estimated at above thirty millions, or in other words Ireland would be at this day thirty millions poorer if an Union had been adopted in 1782 instead of the Constitution of that period. I ask then what plague, what famine, what war, could do you a mischief equal to this? Or could the most plundering invader if he were to conquer your country lay upon it a contribution equivalent to this? I call upon every Gentleman who has an estate—I call upon every farmer who holds ten acres of land—I call upon every manufacturer who has a loom, and what I ask could a Union do for you, which would compensate such a loss? But the loss is certain, whereas the benefits held out to you, are at best problematical.

I may be told that I am taking a narrow view of the subject, and considering it only as far as it relates to my own country, and why not? that is the first consideration for us. But considering it as an imperial subject, let us see if the policy of it is not still worse; and here I meet directly the argument most strongly urged in favour of an Union, that it will preserve the connexion between the two countries. It is not unreasonable to suppose that there have been wise men in the government of both countries before the present time, yet what has been their policy uniformly for the security of this kingdom and its connexion with England? To keep the proprietors of estates at home here resident in the country. Hence the grants of lands from time to time after rebellions, enjoin residency in the patents; hence the repeated acts against absentees, enjoining residency under severe penalties; hence too the uniform policy of 600 years of a resident parliament within the country, those statesmen well knowing that a resident parliament was necessary in order to have resident proprietors, and in this way has the connexion of these two islands been preserved from the days of Henry II. until the present time. I cannot therefore help pausing here, and admiring the presumption of those men, who in a hasty mood desire us now to reverse the system of our ancestors, and of all the wise statesmen of both countries for six successive centuries, and at one breath, overthrow that parliamentary constitution which they deemed the best for preserving the peace and maintaining the connexion between these two kingdoms. Men not overweening in their own minds might well tremble for the consequences of such an experiment, if it were even seconded by the general desire of the nation, but if on the contrary, they endeavour by the most unwarrantable means to impose it on a people not calling

calling for, but deprecating it, I know not how to denominate their infatuation.

A set of English and Scotch journeymen politicians get together in a corner of London, and project schemes for the settlement of this great nation which they know little or nothing about; and they proceed not merely to tamper with the Constitution of Ireland, but resolve to pull it down altogether, and with it every thing wise in the policy of our ancestors, and of all the great statesmen here for 600 years.

I know that puny men may undermine a great fabrick, and overthrow the work of giants—but they never will be able to rebuild any thing like that which they destroy. The resident legislature of this country was constructed on the wisest principles, not merely for the benefit of this country, but for the stability of the empire. The old statesmen knew that the representative system has its limits—that there is an extent at which it is altogether impracticable—and there is also an extent at which it is mischievous and weak. They knew that the best hold which England had in this country, was by the resident proprietors, all interested in preserving the connexion; and therefore instead of proposing an Union to take them out of the country, their policy was, by a resident legislature and by penal statutes, to keep them in it.—They knew also, that the strength of a government like ours, principally depended on the confidence of the nation in the Parliament, and that the people would naturally confide more in a Parliament of their own country, than in that of another—and in one resident in the country, than in one separated by the sea at four or five hundred miles distance. They knew too that the resident Parliament would best understand the interests and tempers of the people, and would be most prompt as well as most potent in applying remedies to any disorders that might arise,—while by the law of Poyning's making the great seal of England a necessary instrument in our legislation, they secured the integrity of the Empire—this was a wise system, founded upon deep, broad and liberal maxims of policy—proved so by the experience of centuries, and infinitely more powerful for preserving peace and connection than any which the little junto of sub-politicians and trading statesmen of the present day are capable of projecting.

When England destroys the Parliament of this country, she lets go her fastest grip of it—never will she get such an engine so secure for herself, and so beneficial for us for the government of it in future. This is too great a country to be ruled by an external Parliament—too powerful in situation—too powerful in people—too powerful in sentiment to be so governed, and too long used to a Parliament of its own.

The ostentatious policy of Lewis XIV. drew the principal nobility of France from the country to the capital, and there they continued to reside during the two succeeding reigns; and what was the consequence? They lost their influence over the people in the provinces, so that when the mob of Paris the most vile and profligate of that city, with the poissards and prostitutes, were pulling the King from off his throne and trampling on the coronets of the nobles—those very nobles felt that from their long estrangement from their lands, it would be in vain for them to go down into their respective provinces to raise the people who did not know them, and who of course would have no regard for them; and thus the prince and nobility of that antient kingdom sunk beneath the Parisian Canaille almost without a struggle. The operation of the Union here will be precisely the same, it will translate the great land proprietors of this kingdom from their respective counties where their power lies, and plant them in the capital of another country where they will be impotent—here dispersed at certain intervals through the nation, they are, as it were, the binding stones of society, that by their strength and weight keep all the parts compact and firm upon which the government rests—take them away, and on the first storm the fabrick tumbles into ruin. Take away the Parliament and with it the principal proprietors, and you only leave the mutilated trunk of English power here without head or sinews, a disorganized body, which no external will can make act or move, and thus that officious junto of minor statesmen, who, in plotting this Union, think they are giving new energy to the domination here of their country, are really doing that which will ultimately paralyze all its powers in this land.

But the ultimate danger of this measure to English Power is even still greater than I have stated—for you not only take out of the country a considerable body of the principal men who are best affected to the English Government, but you offend and irritate a great portion of those who remain. Let meddling politicians therefore beware of what they are doing—any government may proceed in times of facility and peace, but when a day of difficulty and danger arrives, their new vamped up legislature, at a distance, in another kingdom, may be found but a poor engine for governing this—it may resolve and it may enact, and its denunciations may become like the play-house thunder of the Vatican in modern times, the derision of those they intended to appall.

In vain shall England wish at such a time, for the old Parliament here again, which has been so long the preserver of the connexion and the stay of this great pillar of the empire. But it does not depend upon England on this day, but upon you to save the empire from such a catastrophe. Valuable as this country is to England

land, it is still more valuable to you—do not therefore suffer the rash projects of English and Scotch empirics to destroy your Constitution;—a Constitution which has been the protection of you and your forefathers for so many ages—do not suffer them to make experiments upon your country, this is no time for such capricious changes—do not suffer yourselves to be transported to another kingdom, but persevere in that system, which keeps you at home to watch over your properties as your ancestors did, in more formidable times, by which wise policy they preserved the lands that you possess at the present day—it is by your Parliament resting here at home, it is by you yourselves standing here upon your estates, that you will best preserve them and that connexion too with England, so necessary to protect them. Remove your Parliament and you quit your posts, and abandon the country.—You want to preserve the peace of Ireland,—where is the place to do so but in Ireland? You want to preserve the connexion of this country with England, where is the place to do so but in this country? Suppose any man of plain understanding met your Peers and your one hundred members on the road to London, and asked them, what are you going there for? You answer “to preserve the peace of Ireland.”—Would he not say “Good people go back to your own country, it is there you can best preserve its peace, England wants you not; but Ireland does.”

Sir Laurence then moved the following amendment:

“To assure his Majesty, that this his Majesty’s kingdom of Ireland, is inseparably united with Great Britain, and that the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of all his subjects, are that it should continue so united in the enjoyment of a free Constitution, in the support of the honor and dignity of his Majesty’s Crown, and in the advancement of the welfare of the whole empire; which blessings we owe to the spirited exertions of an independent resident Parliament, the paternal kindness of his Majesty and the liberality of the British Parliament in 1782, and which we feel ourselves at all times, and particularly at the present moment bound in duty to maintain.”

Mr. SAVAGE.—I rise to second the amendment of the Hon. Baronet, and to declare that the decided sentiments of the great and populous county of Down which I have the honor to represent, is against the baneful measure of a Union. This I declare to the face of the Noble Lord on the Treasury Bench, as the opinion of his constituents, trusting that it may have the influence on his measures which it is entitled to.

Lord CASTLEREAGH said he did not rise to follow the Hon. Bart. through all the arguments which he had urged against the measure of a Legislative Union, because he did not think this the proper

proper period for that discussion, most of them had been advanced and refuted on a former occasion; but if his arguments this night were entitled to any weight at all, they went the length of proving this absurd proposition, that at all times, and under every possible circumstance, a Legislative Union with Great Britain must be in every point of view highly disadvantageous to Ireland. The Hon. Bart. had expressed his surprise, that after a message had been delivered to Parliament last year, communicating the resolutions of the British Parliament, a sudden prorogation took place, and the Parliament of Ireland had not an opportunity of returning an answer to that communication; the reason was obvious, viz. that the proceedings of the British Parliament were not laid before the Irish Parliament with a view to their being either immediately adopted or rejected, but that they might be in full possession of the whole of the subject whenever his Majesty should think proper to call their attention to it. The Hon. Bart. also wished to know why the subject of the Union was not alluded to in his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's speech; the reason was, because it was intended to make it a subject of distinct communication to Parliament. Last year, when this subject was under consideration, for want of its being thoroughly understood, the Parliament did not think proper to entertain the question. The subject was then withdrawn, and it was stated that it would not again be proposed without full and fair notice, and until there was reason to believe that the Parliament and the country had changed their opinions upon the subject. He had withdrawn the question last year under a persuasion that the measure was not completely understood, but thinking as he did upon his subject, convinced of the many commercial and political advantages it would produce to Ireland, and of its tendency to increase the general strength and prosperity of the empire, and being fully satisfied that it was now approved of by a great majority of the people, he should think that he had betrayed his duty to his Sovereign and to his country, if he did not again submit the question to the cool and dispassionate consideration of the Parliament of Ireland. The reason, therefore, that the subject was not introduced in the Speech was, because a distinct communication was to be made to Parliament upon the subject, and he should, before the House adjourned, move for a call of the House on Monday fortnight, in order that there might be the fullest possible attendance upon so very important a subject. The object of the Hon. Baronet's amendment was not to reject the question after mature investigation, but to extinguish it by anticipation, not only without wishing for, but absolutely rejecting every species of information. It was calculated to draw Parliament into a decided censure upon a measure which it had not an opportunity of fully investigating, and when so great a number of its members

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were indispensably absent. He begged to submit to the consideration of the House, whether it was consistent with propriety or with their own dignity to proceed to the discussion of a question of such infinite magnitude while so many gentlemen of great weight and character were necessarily absent? He begged the House to consider the nature of the attempt now made, and the peculiar circumstances under which it was brought forward.—He desired to ask whether it could be considered as respectful to his Majesty, after he had stated that it was in his contemplation at some future period to bring this question under their consideration, to declare not only that they would not agree to it, but that they would not condescend to discuss it. But whatever opinion gentlemen entertained upon the advantages or disadvantages which might result to Ireland from a Legislative Union with England, yet they felt, or affected to feel highly sensible of the benefits resulting from an intimate connexion between the two countries. If, however, the House should agree to this amendment, they would destroy the only means by which the Parliaments of the two countries could communicate with each other, viz. by the common Sovereign of both countries communicating to one Parliament the proceedings of the other.

It was as little consistent with the duty they owed the people of Ireland, as that which they owed their Sovereign, to refuse all consideration of a subject which involved the interests and safety of both countries, and to decide upon a question, the principles of which they had not investigated, and consequently could not understand. Would it be proper for the Parliament of Ireland to decide upon a question, without considering how it would affect the agriculture, the commerce, and all the various interests of Ireland? Surely not; nothing but the most cool and dispassionate examination could enable the Parliament of Ireland to make up their minds fairly upon this important subject. He believed he should not be contradicted when he said, that upon this point the public in general were not fully informed, and he should think himself an enemy to his country, if he did not by every means in his power promote discussion. Nineteen of the most considerable counties in Ireland, constituting above 5-7ths of the kingdom, had come forward, and not only expressed their wish that a discussion should take place, but had in the most explicit manner declared themselves in favour of a Legislative Union between the two countries. He wished to ask whether it would be decent to press forward this discussion, when there were so many gentlemen absent who had accepted places under Government? Did gentlemen think it constitutional, or right to proceed to the determination of so very important a subject, when so large a proportion of their body was absent?—If the Hon. Bart. had postponed his opposition to the measure until it was brought regularly

larly before Parliament for its consideration, he [Lord Castlereagh] would have entered into a full investigation on the subject, and would have stated his reasons for thinking it a measure highly calculated to promote the happiness and increase: the strength of both countries, and would without hesitation have submitted the decision to the wisdom of Parliament. There were two sorts of opponents to the measure of a Legislative Union. He was very ready to admit that some of them had proved themselves upon various occasions to be friends of Ireland and the Constitution, but he could not help thinking that they were indiscreet friends to their country, they were endeavouring to play too deep a game—they wanted the Constitution of England—but they wanted it without taking the only step which would render the connexion between the two countries solid and permanent.

He should always look to those gentlemen with respect, but he could not consider them as wise friends to their country as long as they connected themselves with persons of a very different description; they certainly could not hope for the confidence of the loyal part of their fellow subjects. He would not take upon himself to decide whether gentlemen meant to act fairly, but he would say, that their conduct had no tendency to prove that such was their object. There were many gentlemen who had seceded, who had absented themselves from Parliament when measures upon which the preservation of the British Constitution depended were under consideration. They wished to have this country left in a state exposed to continual political contests, and kept as it were in suspense, open to all the changes that might be proposed. They had two or three Constitutions proposed to them—the last one was quite upon French principles, but it met with no support from any friend of the country. They say, do not incorporate with Great Britain, not because it will not be beneficial to you, but because if you do you will put an end to all my projects, and I shall not be able when I choose to come down and disturb the peace of the country by proposing the adoption of a French Constitution. He was justified in not considering some gentlemen as real friends of the Constitution, because they did not come down and support in that House the English Constitution against the French, when it was a question in that House.

He had stated, that it was his intention to bring forward the measure for the full consideration of Parliament, and he [Lord Castlereagh] relied upon the good sense of the House, that if they did not think it proper to adopt the measure, they would at least give it a full and fair consideration, and entertain it with respect. He was satisfied that there was no man who wished to act fairly who would not listen coolly and dispassionately on the question. He should have the honour of making the communication from
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the Crown, and then would be the time for discussing the subject fully, he should then have the honour of going rather at length into the details upon the question. Every possible information would be given, because it was wished that the most fair and ample discussion should take place. Could it for a moment be considered that such a measure as that which the present amendment proposed could be adopted with any regard to the dignity of Parliament, or would his Majesty desist from the measure because the Parliament of Ireland thus circumstanced had refused to consider it? At the opening of the last session they made an attempt, in which they partly succeeded, to prevent the discussion of the question—they succeeded because many gentlemen voted against the measure and had not fully considered it. A Learned and Hon. Gentleman made an attempt to draw the House into a solemn pledge never to entertain the question of a Union; but the country gentlemen saw the object of that motion, and they resisted it; they would not bind themselves up from the future discussion of the question for ever, and the consequence was that they made the Hon. Gentleman withdraw his motion. In a very short time, however, after the gentlemen had in the most decided manner opposed all discussion of the Question whatever, they felt that they had not managed matters well, they then expressed a wish to discuss the subject, when the Crown under the then circumstances of the case had withdrawn it.—But after gentlemen had expressed a wish to argue it last session was it consistent that they should at present refuse all consideration of the subject whatever? Was it consistent that when the public voice had not been spoken upon this subject, gentlemen were willing to argue the question, but now when so large a part of the kingdom had expressed their approbation of the measure, they did not think it even fit for discussion? Such conduct could not be reconciled to any system of political integrity, though perhaps it might fall under the denomination of political management. Whenever this subject came to be fairly and dispassionately considered, he would venture to predict that that party who had looked so great last sessions, would in a very short time sink as low as they were before this measure was proposed. This certainly was as awful a crisis as this country had ever seen—its welfare, its connexion with Great Britain was at stake—and surely, whatever the decision of the Irish Parliament might ultimately be upon this subject, that opinion ought to be the result of the most serious and mature deliberation; and if they did consider it in that manner, he would venture to say that their decision would be in favour of a Legislative Union with Great Britain. He would not trouble the House further at present, except to give his decided negative to the amendment proposed by the Hon. Bart.

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Right Hon. Mr. LATOUCHE begged permission to call the attention of the House for a moment. After the dangers and perils the loyal people of Ireland had passed through, it was natural (he said) to look eagerly for any measure which promised security. Our Constitution, our Liberties, our Laws, had nearly been surrendered into the hands of French invaders; had it not been for the power of the Almighty, the bravery of the Irish loyalists, and the valour of the fleets and armies of Great Britain, that House and all that was dear to Ireland might now lie at the feet of a French usurper. Where then was our security? In the proved strength of Great Britain; who, for her conduct and exertions in the present war, must stand high in the annals of the world: It was not a war for conquest, for power, for dominion, but for the protection of the territory, the Constitution, the religion, the liberties and the social order of the Empire. Since he had sat in Parliament, (now an uninterrupted series of forty years) he had never omitted an opportunity of inculcating that which was nearest to his heart—the necessity of cultivating a close understanding and connexion with Britain; and he should consider himself as deserting this principle, were he to oppose or to neglect the present opportunity of more closely cementing that good understanding.—The danger of separation had been with difficulty avoided; the best preventative for its recurrence was, he was convinced, a Legislative Union. By this measure only he was persuaded, the habits of good order and obedience to the laws, which so eminently distinguished Great Britain, could be introduced into this country; and by this measure only could be set at rest the claims and pretences of the Roman Catholics, which had so long distracted this country and produced all our misfortunes.

Lord COLE said he was one of those country gentlemen who had voted against pledging the House against the discussion of an Union; he had done so, because he did not wish to preclude himself from an opportunity of obeying his constituents, if they should approve the measure; they had agreed with him in reprobating it, and the artifices used to procure support for it had confirmed him in his opposition, he would oppose it while he had life, at the same time that he disclaimed being of the description alluded to by the Noble Lord, as there was not a man in that House more ready to shed his blood in support of the King and Constitution.

Mr. J. C. BERESFORD adverted to some words which fell from a noble Lord (Castlereagh) respecting the manner in which a learned gentleman in the last Sessions strove to pledge the House against for ever entertaining the question about incorporating the Legislatures. Mr. Beresford admired, that he opposed such a resolution, because he conceived it uncalled for at the moment, from the assurance given by his Lordship, that the measure should never be demanded, unless it might be found to accord with the
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announced wishes of that House, and the full approbation of the people without doors. After such a declaration from his Lordship, who spoke the sentiments of Government in his place, he should be sorry to agree to a premature and unnecessary entry on the Journals, that no circumstances in which this country could be placed, might justify and call for a Legislative Union.

He did then say that he would never agree to such a projected measure, except from the most imperious motives of danger and difficulty—such a revolution within, and invasion from without. In such a tempestuous time he said before, and then would say, that a consolidation of the Parliaments might be right and necessary, when it would be unsafe and impossible to seek appropriate legislative correctives in an agitated land: but even in such a time, he would merely agree to a temporary relinquishment of our parliamentary power, and at the moment of yielding up that invaluable imperial pledge, he would make a specific provision for its restitution, when the return of peace and conciliation would enable us to resume it with safety and effect.

Right Hon. Mr. OGLE.—I did not imagine that after the sense of the House had been so clearly ascertained on this subject, the Irish Minister would have been bold enough to introduce, or the British Minister wicked enough to persevere in the measure of Union. My opposition to it does not flow from party or faction. I think it a measure fraught with every ill to Ireland and Great Britain—a measure whose tendency will be to render the British Minister triumphant over the constitutions of both countries:—This was my opinion last Session, and I abominated the measure then, so do I tenfold now, when I know that means have been employed to force the question, neither constitutional nor liberal. If the amendment should not pass, I will beg the Noble Lord to bring the question forward, that he may experience an opposition he does not expect—an opposition to a measure which would give up our Constitution. I would take no unfair advantage; unfair and unconstitutional as the measure is. As to those persons who oppose the measure upon whom the Noble Lord has observed with so much severity, I do not approve the conduct of many of them no more than he does—they act with me and I co-operate with them in repelling this measure; and though I shall never connect myself with such persons, yet on this ground I will co-operate with any man, laudable or not—with every man, with virtues or without them—whether he acts conscientiously or factiously, I will avail myself of the support of every man who defends that Constitution, in the formation of which I bore no vulgar part.

Right Hon. D. BROWNE said he was a firm friend to the measure of an incorporating Union—but even were he not so, he would vote against the amendment now proposed: a large proportion of the Parliament and people of Ireland had at least re-

commended the measure as worthy of consideration, so that even though a man should be determined to oppose an Union, he might very reasonably pay so much respect to those who thought well of the measure, as to suffer it to be considered; it was by discussion and deliberation that great public questions should be advanced, not drowned by alarm or undermined by sneaking and cowardly falsehoods, by refuting slanders, mean and gross as the filth and obscurity from which they sprung; yet the latter were the weapons with which the opponents of this measure assailed every man who dared to give his opinion honestly and openly in its favour.

Mr. MARTIN said there never was an amendment offered to that House which more strongly reflected upon the party from whence it came than the present; it was saying to themselves "we are a discordant, disagreeing band, liable to perpetual desertion; we must therefore pledge ourselves by such a bond as shall secure us from abandoning each other."—This conduct put him in mind of an adage well known to physicians, "be as early in the field as the disease, but not before it." The Hon. Baronet had outran the adage, and was like a physician who dreading that his patient would in six months fall into a low fever, would fill him with port and madeira and brandy, so as to kill him for pure preventative.—Mr. Martin then entered into a detail of extracts from the journals, &c. to prove that the constitution of 1782 had been conceded by the spontaneous liberality of Great Britain, and not achieved by the exertions of Irish parliament—he shewed that the same House of Commons which on the 16th of April, 1782, received his Majesty's message of the acknowledgement of their independence by the British parliament, had on the 21st of February preceding, nearly negatived a resolution that "the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland only could legislate for this country;" and that this proposition was only saved from the disgrace of being negatived by being withdrawn by Mr. Hussey Burgh. He then proceeded to shew that until the British parliament had removed the claim of legislating for Ireland, that claim was admitted by the Irish parliament; and from these documents he inserted that the constitution of 1782, was not the acquisition of the Irish parliament.

Mr. BAGWELL, jun. opposed the amendment. By the measure of an incorporating Union, he observed, we were given to understand that all our national discords would be removed, and the country quieted by means of happy and substantial conciliating principles. He should not argue the abstract question, as none of the details of the projected measure were published, but wait until the whole of the propositions would be submitted by the Minister, who, as the matter at present remained, was he should think best judge of their merits. To such a political consolidation however a great part of the Parliament, and

and considerable majority of the people expressed themselves friendly; on it they rested an immediate adjustment of our distractions, and the confident prospect of our future happiness.

On this ground the subject, as recommended from the Throne, and called for by constituents, should be duly and dispassionately canvassed in that House. To refuse such an inquiry would be unconstitutional and wanton, for the best mode of exposing its defects and demerits would be in their fair and full exposure if they deserved it, by means of parliamentary deliberation.

Right Honourable J. FITZGERALD. It is no longer a question whether this important discussion shall be deferred until the country shall be restored to that propriety from which she has been frightened and the operation of Martial Law shall be suspended. The Noble Lord is determined that the Compact, if entered into, shall not go down to posterity with the sanction of cool and calm deliberation, and free and unbiassed judgment, which alone can give it permanence, stability or respect. He has announced the day on which he will make a formal proposal to you for your own annihilation. The amendment proposed by the Hon. Bart. tends to postpone the discussion of the great question of Union, and to declare that it is now necessary to maintain the settlement of 1782, leaving the important question undisposed of, until a proper season shall arrive, and revolution shall have been checked in her career. I call upon the friends of Union to concur in the motion if they wish that, that Union, if effected, should be permanent and respected, and I call upon those who are adverse to that measure, to concur in it also, to assert the native dignity and character of their country, and to ward off the deadly blow which is meditated against the Parliament of Ireland. If you reject it, you will with that rejection seal its doom and consign the future talents, genius and virtues of the Irish nation, to waste in the desert air,—to die unknown—Have you children? Will you put out the light of Ireland? I know not where you will find *that promethean heat which can that light relumine, should you repent.* But seeing such members about me, who have risen upon the buoyant spirit of Parliament, to honor and consideration, I cannot persuade myself to think that they will selfishly assent to such an exclusion of the Posterity of the Nation, and such an entailment of incapacity upon their country. O you who are blessed with, or hope to be blessed with children, attend to me, while I call upon the most informed advocate of the projected measure, to point out an instance of a Scot, since the Union with Great Britain, rising to imperial consideration, who had not previously abdicated Scotland and domesticated himself with England—and if he can, I will shew him Irish Genius, (I mean Mr. Burke,) without

without a surrender of its country, soaring into the distinction of the world, the irresistible champion of civilized society, and who, as if he foresaw what might be attempted against his native country, did with his dying voice—a voice of authority throughout Europe, deny your *moral* competence to do that which is now to be pressed upon you, and which, if effected under the present circumstances of the country, torn, distracted and bleeding from a recent rebellion, cannot, though it should be acquiesced in by the present generation, the judgment of the posterity of Ireland, that respect and authority, which so important a compact ought to have, which as well as present accommodation, a provident minister should have in view. Would to God that gentleman would consider what they are and what they were, what Ireland is, and what she was, and then let them if they can appreciate the value of a Parliament to a country and a people—before they proceed far in the calculation, they will exclaim with me, *Stet fortuna Domus & avi Numerentur Averum.*

I wish to avoid as much as possible every irritating topic. But the short sighted and illiberal conduct of the Parliament of Great Britain during her external legislation for Ireland, cannot be denied, and so debilitated was Ireland under that legislature, that in the year 1777, she was unable to discharge the ordinary functions of her Government, until put in motion by a loan of £50,000 from Great Britain. In the year 1779, the then Lord Lieutenant, did, in his speech from the throne, state that accommodation to Parliament, in proof of the affectionate concern of Great Britain, for the welfare of Ireland, at a time that she herself was threatened with invasion; the Parliament of Ireland acknowledged it as such, but declared with one voice, that it was not, by temporary expedients, but by a free trade only, that the nation could be saved, liberal extensions of trade followed that Parliament, you will be called upon to annihilate. But a free trade without a free constitution could not long exist, and in 1782, Great Britain, in her magnanimity and justice, relinquished for ever that power which she had so long, and for both countries so unfortunately exercised. From that period has Ireland advanced with an unexampled degree of prosperity, no longer a pecuniary incumbrance on Great Britain, but able to raise millions annually for her own, and the eventual defence of Great Britain, cheerfully and heartily contributing money and men to the common cause. Why heartily? because imposed by her own representatives, and the sine for a free constitution.

The Noble Lord has called upon us for an alternative,—we want no alternative, we call for a sacred adherence to the constitution of 1782, under which we have grown from misery and wretchedness to consideration and power, and from jealousies and discontents, to an affection for Great Britain, I trust, not to be shaken. We are no longer an incumbrance on Great Britain,

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we are her attached, her spirited, and powerful brethren, ready to stand and fall with her. Upon that constitution, or that affection, I do not wish to make any experiments. But an argument against the continuance of a Parliament is drawn, whence from the conduct of the Parliament of 1782. I speak in the hearing of wisdom, which bore a great part in the transactions of that period, and have no hesitation to say, that it was owing under God to the prudence and moderation of that Parliament and its affection, for the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, that a fatal convulsion did not at that time ensue. The Parliament of Ireland is the best mediator between the Irish nation and the Parliament of Great Britain. They did not by a rash adoption of the popular opinion, commit the countries. Their prudence interposed, delay gave time for consideration, and produced that Constitution which will, I trust, last for ever. Preserve your Parliament as the hostage of that Constitution. If the spirit of 1782 should again arise, and Ireland should have no Parliament to control her impatience, I should tremble for the consequence.

I am sorry that I must acknowledge that Ireland has not escaped the influence of those diabolical principles which have so long distracted and disgraced so considerable a portion of Europe. But was the great body of the people of Ireland infected? no: while the disorder was to be met by the civil power, traitors were apprehended, and your jurors did their duty. I can speak from my own knowledge upon those trials, either the first or second situated, fell to the offices which I had the honor to hold. Men were at the same time apprehended and tried in the metropolis of Great Britain, and were acquitted.—Yes, (says one of the ministers of Great Britain,) acquitted felons. The disorder advanced to a rebellion in Ireland. But I am confident to say that that Rebellion was put down by the spirit of Ireland, its Militia, its Yeomanry, its resident Gentry, the vigour of the then Government, and the vigilance of this Parliament of Ireland, this Parliament, which is called upon to annihilate itself, and strange though it may be, by annihilation, perpetuate its own disgrace. Read the answers of Lord Camden to the addresses of this House, he does justice to the Parliament, and there is not a man in the nation who does not do him all that justice, to which a good head and a good heart so eminently entitle him.

A new chief governor succeeded, and his first proposition to that very gentry and parliament was to annihilate and become felons of themselves; to commit that species of murder which in personal cases the benignity of the law, concurring with human nature, almost uniformly ascribes to insanity. To prevent a future rebellion, what is his policy? To mortify and degrade that gentry, and annihilate that parliament which suppressed the
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last. But will an union prevent the growth of treason in Ireland? Did it in Scotland? Read the history of two rebellions, in which many of the principal families of Scotland were concerned. Were the nobility and gentry of Ireland concerned in the late rebellion? Has treason made no progress in England since the rebellion of 1745? Read the report of the committee of secrecy of the last session of parliament of Great Britain.—Will an union prevent an invasion from France? I hope it will not accelerate it. Does any man believe that the parliament of Ireland will ever abet that separation which is held out to alarm? If ever that fatal day shall arrive, when you in all the agony of grief shall put the question on the duration of the parliament of Ireland, believe me that it will be a day of triumph and commemoration to disaffection, treason, and rebellion. They will enjoy all the gratification of victory and revenge. The parliament of Ireland will be laid low, and by its own hand; but nauseous and bitter as the draft which is to be presented must be, I would swallow it with pleasure, if I could persuade myself to think it was necessary to preserve the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, and to unite them more closely in prosperity and in danger; but, imperiously impressed with a conviction that it is not, and that the very reverse may in the present rage for innovation be the consequence, I feel myself bound to reject it, however injurious to my immediate personal interest so to do.—To me, the imputation of faction does not belong; I feel myself above it. I never did, and never will belong to any party.—I was above twenty years the zealous servant of the King: I shall ever be his loyal subject. A great question, and of an irrevocable nature arose; on that I differed in opinion from those with whom I had so long acted. To the sincerity of that opinion, I sacrificed the first and most lucrative office in my profession, and political connexions which I respect. If there are factious men, if there are corrupt men, let the galled jades wince: my withers are unwrung. The Parliament of Ireland is the sacred palladium of her connexion with Great Britain; should it be stolen, may God, in his affection to both countries, keep out the common enemy, and continue them together! No man loves England more than I do, or more enthusiastically admires the English character; but no trait of that character do I admire so much, as that manly feeling which would refuse to ought but Omnipotence a preponderating influence in the Government of its country. I have the most firm belief, that if by any fortune the continent of Europe was annexed to the Crown of Great Britain, that the British nation would reject an union that did not give them an irresistible preponderance in the government of the whole. Catch the virtue from them, if you have it not; adopt the amendment; believe me, you will rise in British estimation; they will judge of you by themselves, as men
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who know the value of a free constitution, and as such will be proud of you as brothers; but, if you do not, they will look upon you with distrust at least, and will not repose confidence in men who have not been true to themselves; nor will you be to them what you now are, vigorous, attached, and manly brethren; but moody, melancholy, emasculated malcontents, inwardly repining for the loss of those privileges and distinctions which they are permitted to enjoy, and that parliament which you have given up.

The genius, the ambition, and the aspiring thoughts of man, are not to be controlled; and little reason have we, dressed in a little brief and questioned authority, to expect that the increasing population of four millions of people will respect this compact, if entered into, as sacred. It will be handed down to them, with the history of the present day, and the means taken to effect this mighty change. There will be a *Lockhart*. They will be told that the country was called upon to this compact, when martial law was in full force. They will hear of the years 1779 and 1782. They will enquire how they lost the great acquisition of those days—a free, residing, superintending legislature. They will enquire by what means they lost the power of granting supplies, the true source of national independence, and the great constitutional control of the executive power, whether resident or non-resident; and much I fear, that, dazzled by the splendour without the loyalty and moderation of 1782, similar claims may be made, and Great Britain may not be found in a similar disposition to concede. *My soul aches to think with what ease confusion in that gap may enter, and by the one country take the other.* Under those impressions, I differed from those with whom I had so long acted. I still differ from them, with respect and without resentment, and shall vote with the Hon. Bart.

Mr. O'HARA.—Sir, a member of the House of Commons in the debate on the amendment, made an observation on the moneyed situation of Ireland, which struck me so forcibly, that I beg leave to state it to you. If it be correct, and I do not see how it can be otherwise, it must interest every man according to his stake in the country.

What he stated is this: The balance of trade, according to the best calculation, has for some years past been about two millions in favour of Ireland. From whence deduct rents remitted to absentees, at least one million, and about £400,000 for public annuities, and the interest of loans, in all £1,400,000 and there remains six hundred thousand pounds, a balance in our favor, which becomes an annual increase of the Capital of this country, and from hence it is that your rents encrease, and that every man, from the highest to the lowest order, feels his participation in the growing prosperity of his country; and this, you
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may rely upon it, will encrease so long as you preserve your constitution in its present form. But should this legislative Union take place, it is to be feared this balance will be sadly reversed. The encrease of remittances to absentees will be enormous. If at present they amount to a million, you can not add less than five hundred thousand more: others have estimated these remittances much higher; but this is enough to reduce the balance in favour of Ireland to £100,000. But we must not stop here. The balance of your revenues will likewise be remitted. With this view strict oeconomy will be introduced into all the branches of the Revenue. Such unnecessary employments as are not a lure to gentlemen, will be struck off. Even our splendid Court, which contributes not a little to reconcile our great families to their own country, may perhaps be changed into a military levee. Taxes on the other hand will be encreased. For (whatever may be agreed upon as the proportion for Ireland to contribute) we know that new taxes may extend to Ireland as easily as they have done to Scotland; and whatever surplus of revenue may remain, will be remitted to the treasury at Westminster. I cannot estimate these remittances at less than £500,000. Mr. Pitt has cast his eyes about on every side for revenue. From the East India company he has obtained an income, I believe, of £500,000. He has got a large sum from the Bank of England for renewing its Charter. Even so long ago as the Commercial Propositions, he required £300,000 a year from Ireland; and it cannot be supposed that he will now be content with less than £500,000, and here commences a balance of £400,000 against this country.

But I now come to another more melancholy source of remittances. It was last year, and perhaps still is, part of the proposed system, to reduce the duties between this country and Great Britain. Now though the duties on the part of Britain are unnecessarily high, those imposed in Ireland are barely sufficient to protect our home market, which by every man of common sense, is considered as the first and most essential encouragement of our manufactures, and as furnishing subsistence to a prodigious number of our fellow subjects. Should these protecting duties be reduced; instead of being supplied in certain considerable articles by our own manufacturers; those articles will be imported from Great Britain, and here will be another source of remittance to the amount of four or five hundred thousand a year. Thus upon the whole, instead of a balance of £600,000 a year in favor of Ireland, we shall have a balance of eight or nine hundred thousand a year against us to be annually remitted; and let me ask how long it would be before Ireland is exhausted of every guinea. Stocks must fall, the rents and value of land must fall, the price of labour must fall, the improvement of the

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country must cease, in short, to conclude as I began; every man from the highest to the lowest will partake of the general calamity according to his stake in the country.

Balance at present in favor of Ireland	-	-	£ 600,000
Consequences of a UNION.	{	Increase of remittances to absentees, 300,000 Surplus of Revenue remitted, - - 500,000 Loss of our home market, - - - 500,000	
Total consequences of a Union,	-	-	1,500,000
Deduct,	-	-	600,000

Instead of our present balance in our favour, there }
will then be against us, - - - 900,000

Mr. G. PONSONBY.—Sir, it is no small satisfaction to me, that not having been at liberty, on a former occasion, to answer what had fallen from the Minister.—It is no small satisfaction to me, that not having had an opportunity to acknowledge the handsome and flattering notice with which the young Lord was pleased to flatter me at the close of last session—It is with no small satisfaction, Sir, I say, that on this night the Noble Lord cannot utter matter derogatory to the character of gentlemen on this side of the House, and then meanly seek a coward refuge in the prerogative of the Crown.

I cannot but congratulate the Noble Lord on the more liberal use which he seems now disposed to make of that prerogative. At the close of last session, an Hon. Friend of mine, called by the claims of military honour to relinquish his parliamentary duties, wished that his constituents might have had an opportunity of appointing a representative to fill his place—this was also the wish of a most respectable portion of this House, and many gentlemen now present laboured hard to induce the Noble Lord to permit that opportunity, but in vain—the Escheatorship of Munster was an office of too much trust and confidence—an appointment of too great importance to be lightly disposed of, or be made the reward of any but very eminent but *peculiar services* to the State. I am, however, happy that the Noble Lord has now displayed a more accommodating disposition, and has given to the town of *Enniskillen* an opportunity of being represented in Parliament. It may be uncharitably urged by those who do not know how to appreciate the integrity of the Noble Lord's principles, and the purity of his ministerial conduct, that he is anxious to put off discussion on the subject of Union until he shall be sure of a majority, and I confess that the acknowledgment which, in the natural candour and ingenuousness of his heart, the Noble Lord has just made, may favour such a supposition. But, Sir, I am sure that the very supposition is an almost unpardonable calumny against the Noble Lord's untamined and virtuous principles and conduct.

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vinced I am, Sir, that the Noble Lord has not made an undue use of the prerogative of the Crown—convinced I am that the anxiety expressed by the Noble Lord to postpone discussion on the question of Union is not occasioned by a wish to bring up the rere of the Ministerial levies to the contest, and enforce the ranks by the addition of twenty Placemen. No! no! I am convinced it is from the pure and honest desire that the country may have the advantage of twenty virtuous, uninfluenced, independent Members. I know not, Sir, whether every gentleman who hears me will be of the same opinion, but sure I am that the Minister is most tenaciously tender of the Constitution of his country, and would not employ for its destruction the influence with which he is armed by his situation. But, Sir, the Noble Lord is sadly afraid that the amendment before you will be carried, because of the motley opposition at this side of the House. Sir, I must confess that it is very cruel that a motley opposition should impede the wishes of the Minister—it is very cruel, Sir, that some who had approved of, and some who had opposed Parliamentary Reform, should resist a measure which would leave them no Parliament at all—it is very cruel that those who have submitted plans of emancipation to traitors, should agree in opposing an Union. Sir, it is a most sad and deplorable thing that those who may have differed in speculative improvement of the Constitution, should agree in resisting its total destruction—and still more sad, Sir, because the very circumstance of a motley opposition shews, that the smallest presumption in favour of an Union cannot be deduced from it. But, Sir, I cannot conceive, for my own part, that if my conduct had been a thousand times worse than the Noble Lord has been pleased, on a former occasion, to represent it. I cannot conceive had I deserved to have been hanged, that even all this could afford an argument in favour of the Union—yet hear how ingeniously and logically the Noble Lord argues to this effect—“A Legislative Union, Gentlemen, is a most excellent thing, for yonder stands a man who has supported Parliamentary Reform—an Union is a most excellent thing, for yonder is a man who proposed to divide the country into French departments—this Union is a most powerful, a most miraculous remedy for all your evils—it will compose all contending interests, all internal and external distractions, for behold yonder sits an Hon. Gent. who would have emancipated the Catholics of Ireland.” Really, Sir, these it must be allowed, are very conclusive arguments why you should relinquish that Parliament, which alone can secure the Liberties of the People.

The Noble Lord has really elevated himself beyond the sight of vulgar eyes, and it seems the measure of an Union must be carried because it is opposed by men of opposite characters; because gentlemen at this side of the House are subject to that variation of character and opinion incident to humanity, the Parliament is to
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commit suicide upon itself! I am not sure, but I think I heard it advanced within these walls, that the speeches and the plans proceeding from this side of the House in favour of the people of Ireland, had assisted to the public distractions. What effect, think you, Sir, it would have had on the temper and the events of the country, if a young man were to employ all the advantages of imposing youth and manners to engage the confidence of the people of, and then deceive them? What, if a young man of the first connexions and interests, were to court the Catholics of Ireland, for the purpose of selling them? What, if he promised to support their claims, and after having secured, by their voices, his election to this House for one of the first counties of Ireland—then to betray them—then to forfeit, in this House, his most solemn and sacred engagements, what effect, Sir, may a conduct like this have on the public mind, and on the peace of the country.—If a young man in the very outset of his political career, and of a fair promise and great connexion should act thus, I will ask you, Sir, could the people, thus deceived, be blamed if they were to relinquish all hope in the virtue of Parliament, and look only to themselves. But, Sir, there is another argument advanced, which must not be passed by unnoticed. The Noble Lord cannot conceive what basis the Constitution can rest upon if you don't pass this Legislative Union. If you do not destroy your Parliament, there may be a set of men lurking and lying in wait for an opportunity to come down to this House and offer to its consideration their democratic plans of Reform. Does the Noble Lord mean to say—does any man in this House mean to say, what the future state of Ireland may be? The Noble Lord may feel competent to such divination, but I confess that I do not—I will not look into the regions of futurity for remote, shadowy, and possible evils, but I will look at the present most calamitous and terrible evil with which our country is threatened, and I will tell the Noble Lord that the accumulation of ages, and the extensive range of possibility cannot furnish a heavier affliction or more complete and irreparable destruction to this country than his plan of Union [hear! hear!] The Noble Lord recommends to you to knock your aged Parliament on the head, lest it should be at any time influenced by a doting affection towards the people of Ireland. Destroy your representation altogether, lest it undergo any change in favour of the Catholic claims—destroy your Parliament, because it furnishes an opportunity to evil-minded men (such as the motley opposition here) to execute mischief under the cover of the freedom of debate!

I know not, Sir, if the freedom of Parliamentary debate be agreeable to those who wish for more power than the British Constitution is willing to impart to any Man, or Minister, or King—but this I know, Sir, that arbitrary power cannot establish itself but on the suppression of free debate. The conduct of Cromwell

well, in our history, and that of Buonaparte, in the history of France, furnish proof how inconvenient this same freedom of debate may be to the purposes of usurpation and tyranny, and that the despot cannot feel secure in his seat but by the destruction of those things called Parliaments. But, Sir, this is a childish way of speaking—you might as well say to a man who had acted imprudently, that he should cease to live, as to say that a Parliament should no longer exist, because some of its Members may not have acted with continued prudence and omniscience of wisdom. Has any thing like this occurred in the history of England? For more than 60 years a desolating civil war raged between the houses of York and Lancaster—the red rose and the white—but because of this contest about the Crown, was it ever proposed that there should be no Crown at all? In the reign of Henry VIII. the English Parliament was base enough to place the proclamations of the Crowns on the same footing with the laws of the land—did it, however, occur to that or any future Parliament to destroy itself? Did it happen that when Monarchy and Charles I. were laid in the same grave, and the nobility of England debased—at the restoration did it happen that any man was bold enough to propose that our House of Commons, from whence sprung those acts, should no longer form a part of the English Constitution? James II. by the abuses of his prerogative, lost the Crown of those realms to himself and to the house of Stuart, but did it occur to the wildest man in the Parliament of England, to propose the extinction of the monarchical part of the Constitution? But the Noble Lord, because a rebellion occurred in this country, desires you, Gentlemen, to destroy your Parliament—a wish such as never escaped the wildest demagogue or the most devoted instrument of prerogative, in England during a term of 150 years of civil contest! If the Parliament of this country shall fall, it will not be by the arguments of the Noble Lord—it will not be by any thing he can say within these doors; and I hope its destruction will not be affected by any thing which the Noble Lord can do without these doors? If your Parliament shall be destroyed, it will be by bad passions, mistaken notions, and the unfortunate circumstances of the times, by our own fatal and domestic animosities. Does the Noble Lord propose any remedy to compose those animosities? None: but he proposes to destroy us, and prevent the possibility, as he fears the inclination which the Irish Parliament has, to heal and for ever to compose the differences, which have weakened, and almost subdued us to his purposes. Is it liberal in the Government thus to take advantage of our misfortunes or our errors, and instead of attempting to make us wiser or better, to seek our destruction? But I firmly believe, Sir, that the gentlemen of this House will never consent to yield themselves up to the Minister. I am satisfied that however love,

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however jealous they may feel relative to the conduct of this House on some occasions, the *people of Ireland will never consent to the annihilation of their Parliament.*

If ever this House should consent to its own imolation—if ever the Members of the Irish Commons should assent to an act for turning themselves out of doors—if this should ever happen, hope shall not quiet me, until the last man shall have passed the door, which the Minister should close upon our liberties when they shall approach that door. If they but cast a look behind—if they but view that chair, where integrity now sits enthroned—if their eyes but linger on that floor, where the flow of patriot eloquence has been poured forth for their country—if they but recollect all the struggles of honourable legislation which these walls have witnessed, they will stop, before they have taken the last irretrievable step; they will cling to this House, the temple of their honour, and they would tell the Minister, “Sir, you have taken an unjust advantage of our confidence, to desire us to destroy our country—You have taken a most ungenerous and unjust advantage of the state of that country, to seduce its Parliament to annihilate itself, and the liberties of its constituents—but we will shew you that you have been mistaken in the calculation of our baseness—we will shew you that we represent an honest, brave, and generous people, and are worthy to represent them—we will not flatter, but we will serve them, and establish an eternal claim to their gratitude, and to the gratitude of posterity.” This, Sir, I will suppose to be the influence of feeling, and the triumph of nature and of honour, should the negotiated sale of our liberties proceed to the last extremity, and until I shall see the last man out of these doors, and they shut upon him for ever, I will not believe that these who have lived with such honour, will die with such disgrace.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The learned gentleman (Mr. G. Ponsonby) said he, as well as the Hon. Baronet who moved the amendment, had argued against the principle of any incorporate Union with Great Britain, under any possible circumstances; and the motion, if agreed to, went to a surrender of all deliberative faculty in the House, and to stop all further discussion upon the subject, and that with a view of preventing the House or the nation from having an opportunity of being acquainted with its merits or demerits, so as to satisfy the public as to either.—He said, that he had sat long in Parliament, during the time of the present Speaker and of his predecessor; that he had generally taken an active part in the debates of that House, and had endeavoured from every observation he was capable of making, from past events as well as the history of the present times, to form such a just conclusion as should direct and justify a conscientious vote upon the present important occasion. Your country, said he, has been convulsed and distracted from the earliest period of time;
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and though we live within a few miles of the coast of Great Britain, enjoying the same climate and a more fertile soil—although we are subjects of the same empire, having the fairest and most obvious pretensions to a participation of those blessings and enjoyments which make Great Britain the envy and admiration of the world; yet such is our unhappy fate, that we are ever deemed to be the sport of faction and the victims of a discontented spirit that never dies, but insiduously awaits the moments of distraction and embarrassment, to sever us from the British empire, as the most certain mode of accomplishing our common destruction. The means by which it has been sought to effectuate that destruction are notorious and familiar, from the earliest periods of our history, and the facility with which rebellions has been raised within the land, with an hope of being supported with foreign assistance, is a calamitous truth, which the bloody annals of Ireland can testify; and from the radical imperfections in the nature of our connexion, we find so early as the period between the reigns of Henry II. and Henry VII. during the disputes of the houses of York and Lancaster, the English settlers in Ireland availing themselves of the opportunity to withdraw from their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and to renounce the law which they imported, and factious demagogues have never been wanting since to urge the wretched people of this country to similar attempts.—Settlers of English birth and English blood; and English birth, with their distinct Parliaments were opposed to each other; and at length, to prevent the mischievous effects thereof, for many years at different periods, Knights of Shires, cities and boroughs were elected in Ireland, to serve in the Parliament of England, in separate, as well as joint Parliaments, of incorporate Union; and from an attentive view of the records of those early transactions, those Parliaments seem to have been summoned to England at those times for the very purpose of preventing the feuds which existed then between the contending parties in Ireland, to whom I have already alluded.—Molyneux, the great assertor of Irish legislative independence, mentions the records of the writs of summons for the Irish members, to England. That great man, Mr. Speaker, thought such a Legislative Union with England too great an happiness for Ireland to hope for; and Sir William Petty, another great man and well-wisher to Ireland, says, “that Ireland could never complain when freely and proportionably represented in all English Legislatures.”—But Molyneux and Sir Wm. Petty were not men of faction; they wished to promote the happiness of Ireland by a Legislative Union, as was the wise and original practice which great and good men, collectively and individually, have often since recommended, and which the Commons of Ireland, by their address of 1707, earnestly solicited, and which the virtue and firmness of the present Minister, with the concurrent wisdom of the legislatures of both countries, will, I trust, shortly accomplish.

accomplish.—Who that hears me is not weary of the unsettled state of this country? We have had no fixed principle of political relation that gave security to us, or stability to the empire. We have been “every thing by starts and nothing long,” and was vering like the wind between the various and discordant sentiments of revolving administrations, as they happened to be governed by the prevailing factions of the day; the versatility of our politics has given encouragement to every “moody beggar seeking for a time of pell-mell, havock and confusion.”

It has been announced by the King's Minister in this country, that this measure, which has undergone much consideration in the British Parliament, will be submitted to the future discussion of this House at the desire of his Majesty; that it will be laid before this assembly in all its parts, for your full investigation, to be approved of, rejected, or modified, when freely deliberated upon. But the object of this amendment is to preclude the possibility of such a message from the throne, and to prevent this House or the nation from ever having a view of the subject.—In the course of this debate heavy charges have been thrown out as if the Minister had been the cause of preventing this House from having discussed this subject; at a former day charges have been made of corrupt and infamous practices; and the learned member (Mr. Ponsonby,) has liberally added the farther charges of meanness, subterfuge and dastardly flight at the close of the session. He has pronounced an eulogium upon the Parliament, and has said it matters not to what the late distractions of this country have been owing; but I will tell that Hon. Member that it is necessary for us to recollect what originating cause the late rebellion in Ireland is owing, with all its horrid consequences of outrage, massacre and devastation:—they are owing to the speeches of that Hon. Member and his friends in the Irish Parliament. By those speeches the Parliament of Ireland was calumniated and defamed; its laws were represented as acts of outrage and oppression, when calculated to restrain those disorders which the irritation of those speeches had caused. We were denounced as not the legitimate representatives of the People: we were threatened with the example of the French revolution: the meeting of the delegated representatives in a convention on the French model to the overthrow of your established authority was only proclaimed; and when a law was proposed to prevent it, the people were told by that Learned Member and his friends that such a law was subversive of their liberties, and that they were thereby deprived of all means of defending those liberties but by an appeal to arms! They took his advice: the appeal to arms was made—the system was organized and matured,—and in due season the storm of rebellion has burst upon us—the best blood of the country has been spilled by it—the dominion of wild uproar became predominant, but the valour and the virtue of the gentlemen

men of Ireland have providentially subdued it. Most of those whom I now behold bore arms for many a sultry day and many a sleepless night to defend you, Sir, in that chair, and to protect that Parliament which had been thus calumniated and reviled; but where was the Hon. Gentleman and his friends then? Did they who had been foremost in the ranks of opposition, and in stinging the people to madness, appear strenuous in the ranks that were arrayed for the safety of their country?—the Minister would have been criminal in the extreme, after the convulsions that had shaken this country to its centre, that had not proposed some means to get rid of those feuds and animosities, that by the history of all former times, and the misfortunes of the present times, had so loudly called for a remedy. The learned Member and his friends have frequently lamented those distractions, and have for many years past imputed them to the primary cause of the insufficient representation of the people in this House; that they were thereby precluded from their natural rights, and after the period of the French revolution, and of the formation of the affiliated treasonable societies in this country, they came forward with their nostrums of emancipation and reform, as the sovereign panacea for the complaints of the country, and the constituted authority of the Parliament was to be shaken as the prelude to its overthrow. As to making legislative provisions,—military arrangements,—they were opposed, uniformly scoffed at and derided; and at the very moment when a most formidable French expedition was ready to pounce upon this country, when the array of our illustrious yeomanry, and the means of the supply for them was stated by Mr. Pelham in this House, the Hon. Gentleman then scoffingly observed to him “Miserable Financier! Miserable Financier! do you think that such measures will save Ireland, and you wont save Ireland without Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary Reform; the country will not acknowledge your authority nor be obedient to your resolves.”

What right then has that Gentleman to plume himself now as the advocate for the Parliament of Ireland? He endeavoured for years to shake its authority, to lessen it in the public estimation—to calumniate and revile its most wholesome institution, and by the effect of such doctrines, promulgated and sanctioned by him and his friends, your authority was shaken and put to defiance.—But, Sir, this is not a novel practice of party and faction in this country; for, from the moment that distinct Parliaments have been held in Ireland, whenever the kingdom of England laboured under difficulties, a discontented party had constantly endeavoured to practice upon the Irish Parliament, to raise further embarrassments to the empire, which have threatened separation, and unfortunately promoted disorder.—The disputes of the
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houses of York and Lancaster led to the adoption and the coronation of an impostor at Christ Church in Dublin; the revolt of Desmond and others is well known, and when the dissensions in the time of Charles I. ran high in England; a discontented and desperate party in Great Britain found means then, as they have always practised since, to make this country the theatre for their experiments, and to that circumstance the contemporary historian (Lord Clarendon) attributes the seeds of that rebellion, which in the year of 1641 stained the character of mankind and the land of Ireland, when the popular cry of legislative independence was the prelude to outrage. In the year 1689, when James II. abdicated the British Throne, he found a party and a Parliament ready to receive him, and they proceeded to the laudable work of emancipation and reform as the best and surest means of separation from England. They proceeded to erase all vestiges of British connection; and to consummate the work of a distinct, separate, and independent Parliament; they proceeded with the assistance of some sagacious and popular lawyers to repeal the act of settlement, and to annihilate that title by which almost every man that hears me holds his landed property in Ireland. But do you forget, Sir, what was the conduct of that learned Gentleman's party in England they dealt out lately the most unqualified abuse of the Irish gentry and of the Irish Parliament? In two libellous speeches which were attributed to them in all the public prints, they represented us as the oppressors of the poor, and the instigators of rebellion; they traduced your Parliament, and stimulated the people to revolt. Pray, Sir, did the Hon. Gentlemen then appear as the advocates for an Irish Parliament? or did they support a learned friend of mine in rebutting and censuring the calumny that had been cast upon us? No, Sir, they well knew that such a conduct would not have assisted the object of those who, in the language of Lord Clarendon, "*were desirous to transplant the disorders of Westminster into the kingdom of Ireland.*" And here let me call your attention to what will illustrate how the same game has been practised at modern times; -- At the time of the regency question in Ireland, it is perfectly well remembered how the party played in to each others hands from opposite sides of the water, and this house was made the stage for that performance which had been damned at Westminster. The Parliaments, and of course the countries, were committed for a time: providence restored the King's health, and we recovered ours. However, a great political academy was instituted in Ireland, under the name of the *Woig Club*, and amongst their earliest resolutions they fix their political creed as to the right of the H. of Parliament to make a transfer of a sovereignty of a vote, and then they resolve, (with reference to Mr. Fox and his friends in England)

"*We approve of their principles, because they are our own*;" which fashionable phraseology has been most critically preserved by the friends of the party, who bore testimony of the character and the principles of Arthur O'Connor, at Maidstone. Amongst the members of the Irish Whig Club, were many worthy, honourable men; but the example of such a body, meeting and resolving with a view to operate upon, and over-rule the authority of Parliament, was lamentably mischievous; for, from their example, and with the assistance of some men that had found admittance amongst them, emanated that desperate society, the United Irishmen. The time was critical; the French Revolution made its explosion; the system of clubs, cabals, and committees became matured, and masters in the art of organizing the rabble proceeded to overthrow the established authorities. And here give me leave to plead as an excuse for the conduct of the learned member, that in the question of *emancipation and reform*, the *United Irishmen*, by their manifestos, took the lead of him, and had the merit of originating that plan which was lately propounded by his friends to Parliament. But I will admit that their idea of the advantage of Union differed from that of the learned gentleman. Their object was to concentrate the councils and the power of the treasonable conspirators in Great Britain and Ireland, for the overthrow of the Monarchy and the establishment of a Republic; and accordingly they set out with a first principle, that *Union is power*, and they assumed the emphatical appellation of "The Union.—They, however, most cautiously remonstrate against any Union of the legitimate authorities of the country; as to that they desire that, 'as to any other Union than that of treason, there may be none between the island'—"*We pray to be left to ourselves*"—knowing well that nothing could so effectually defeat their objects as a Legislative Union. But I think it of importance to mark to you, Sir, what the United Irishmen constantly impressed on the popular and prevalent sentiment as to what is called the *final compact* of 1782. No man will pretend to say that the publications of that body were not in general circulation, that their ascendancy over the public mind was not notorious; and yet I call upon the Gentlemen to say where the then opposition of this country exerted themselves to put them down.

In the month of November, 1792, the United Irishmen in their address to the delegates of Scotland, after priding themselves that the Irish Parliament in 1782, following the example of a Catholic Parliament about a century before, (meaning thereby the Parliament of 1689), had asserted their exclusive legislative independence; they speak of the compact of 1782, and say, "*We would despise this transient burſt, did we not conceive that revolution is in train—This revolution inculcates new principles and*

new practice; our means are Union---let Union extend through the Empire.—What, Sir, shall be the exclusive privilege of sedition, conspiracy and treason to confederate in an Union of power for the overthrow of states and empires? And shall we not be at liberty to concentrate the wisdom, the councils, the virtue and the energy of the empire, to save and to support it? I know that many good and esteemed friends of mine oppose an Union. But who ought to be the natural enemies to such a Union? And who are the real enemies of it?—the traitors, the democrats at home, and our ferocious enemies abroad, who are at this moment anxiously waiting for our determination upon this subject, and who are at all times watchful to take advantage of dissention to effectuate our destruction. If you doubt it, look to the proclamations of Humbert when lately at Castlebar, at the head of the rebels and invaders; in which after giving some wholesome regulations for the raising of insurrection, and invitations to plunder, he desires that the Irish assembly may be convened to establish the revolution. He says he is come to break the yoke of British connexion---I come to assist you to re-conquer the property of your ancestors, but I beseech you to *spare the opposition.*

Mr. BUSH. I rise to protest and reclaim against the illiberal and false insinuations which I have heard this night from the Treasury Bench, and against the base attempt to identify opposition to the paricidal measure of a legislative Union with disaffection to my sovereign. It is the abominable and scandalous expedient of a rotten cause; the desperate resource of those who have not an argument to support them;—I know not what the Noble Lord means by the liberality with which he has dealt out the epithet of traitor, nor what he would insinuate when he talks of communicating upon politics with rebels who have fallen under the sword of the law. I assure the noble Lord the insinuation does not apply to me. I have no exiled political connexions in Scotland, nor does Fort St. George contain any confidant of my early politics. I know not what the Right Honourable the Attorney General means by his attack upon the Whig Club. I had not the honour to belong to that society, though I respect their principles; but as his friend the Noble Lord, was once a distinguished member of that association, I must entreat of him to protect its character against the accusation of the Attorney General. I have no interest in the exculpation which I can put into better hands than the Noble Lord's, I therefore commit myself to my noble advocate, and request he may consolidate our two defences into one. It is a sorry and illiberal return for the loyalty of the Irish Gentry, to plunder them of that Constitution which their loyalty defended, and it is no small aggravation of that illiberality to slander their characters,

characters, it is not the vituperation of the Attorney General which can make me forget that I have the honour of co-operating in this glorious cause with the characters in this kingdom most distinguished for loyalty and affection to their sovereign, nor shall his frequent and decent applications of the word Traitor make me forget what a traitor is. A traitor, in my mind, Sir, is a wretch who upon the pretence of some visionary and experimental improvement, but really upon the suggestion of some private motive of profligate corruption, would sell the Constitution and liberty of his own country in order to aggrandize the ambition of another. A traitor is a man, who, perhaps contrary to his own declared opinions in private, would in an hour prostrate a Constitution the collected wisdom of ages, at the foot of any other power that could aspire to it, or could bribe him. This is my notion of a Traitor; I have drawn the picture for the instruction of the Right Hon. Gentleman, that the next time he sees one, he may know him.

I have heard to night another doctrine which cannot sufficiently be reprobated, from a young gentleman, in; I believe, his first address to Parliament, that the Minister of the Crown is the sole and exclusive judge of the proper moment in which to destroy the Constitution of the country, I know not where the Hon. Gentleman has studied the Constitution, I thank God I have not studied in the same school—I prefer to his opinion that of the Hon. Baronet who has moved the amendment, and agree with him that this is the moment in which we are to take our stand. Ours is a case of defence. The minister has made the assault, and I cannot subscribe to that doctrine which would induce us to let the enemy prescribe the moment of resistance; that would induce us to consult the minister at what instant we should parry the blow which is aimed at our existence, and would defer the effort of self-preservation till that blow was struck to our heart. The question suggested by the amendment of the Hon. Baronet is, whether the House shall choose its own time for pronouncing its own opinion upon its own existence, or whether you shall depute to the minister, an authority to choose the time most convenient to himself. Perhaps in the History of the Empire no House of Parliament was ever so situated as that which I now have the honour of addressing—it is, perhaps, the first time that the Executive Government has ever presumed to agitate and disquiet the public mind upon a great Constitutional innovation, and to pass by the Parliament—it is tolerable presumption in the minister after the defeat of last year, to return to the very Parliament who defeated him, and reiterate his attack upon the Constitution of the country; but there is more than ordinary audacity in avowing this intention, and in skulking in the speech from the throne, from the very question,

question, with the agitation of which he has distracted the country.—I am too Constitutional to consider the speech from the throne in any other light than as the speech of the minister, and considering it as such I cannot but admire the effrontery of suppressing and concealing from the Parliament, in that speech, the intention which he avows in his own. He is not ready, forsooth, this night, but in a fortnight he will. He gives the Parliament a fortnight to live, because it will not be sooner his convenience to extinguish it; and this is the return which the Noble Lord makes to this House for the mercy and clemency which last year he experienced at their hands. This is the return which he makes for that moderation which, after his disgrace and discomfiture, suffered him to exist as a minister for a moment. This is the gratitude of Government for the loyalty of this side of the House which spared him after he was detected in an abominable conspiracy against the Constitution of the country, and which for the remainder of the session co-operated even with him in support of the measures of his Majesty's Government. This is the return that is made—the Noble Lord comes forward again, confronting the very Parliament that vanquished him, smarting under his defeat, writhing at every wound, vowing vengeance against his conquerors, and offering but one new argument against your existence, and that is, his own impunity. But this is not all, the Government of the country has appealed from the decision of Parliament, and to whom have they appealed? Not to the constituent body Constitutionally recognized; not to the electors of the Kingdom, nor the Freeholders, but to the people individually, abusing the most monstrous proposition of reform and innovation—I mean, universal suffrage, and canvassing the rabble of the Kingdom against the Constitution of the country. A Government wielding the whole influence of the crown, at the head of every department, the Army, the Church, and the Revenue, exercises all its authority to procure individual signatures as a counterbalance to the opinion of the representatives of the people in Parliament assembled, and this influence of the crown so successfully exerted, if you believe the arguments of the Noble Lord and his supporters, that the people of the country are clamouring for the annihilation of the Parliament, and yet the administration not only has not leisure to gratify their importunity for another fortnight, but thinks proper to make the speech from the throne as completely silent upon the subject, as if no such matter were in contemplation: and because his Majesty took leave of his British Parliament with a promise that he would annihilate his Irish Parliament, and because his Majesty's representative took leave of the Irish Parliament with a declaration that he could not close his eyes in
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peace unless the Irish Parliament were extinguished, and because the people of the country, if you believe the Hon. Gentleman, (Mr. Martin) are burning with impatience until that extinction takes place; for all those adequate reasons, the speech from the throne is silent upon this momentous question, and an amendment to the address which proposes to quiet the country upon this agitating and anxious subject, is resisted as dangerous, seditious, and treasonable.

I should be glad to know, Sir, if this Amendment be unnecessary, of what use have been the campaigns and perambulations of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant since the last session of Parliament? Why did his Excellency subject himself to the fatigue of so many marches and countermarches?—Why did he think it necessary to write down the Constitution of Ireland in a correspondence through his military secretary with the seneschal of every close borough, whose patron he had previously communicated with, and with every parish priest who was sufficiently complaisant to induce his flock to sign manifestoes against the Parliament of the Country; if, after all this, the Crown is to meet the Parliament blinking and skulking from the premeditated determination of extinguishing it for ever—and why, forsooth—because the Noble Lord is a great performer, and cannot play to empty benches.—Look Sir, about you at the empty benches.—Look at the fullest assembly ever collected within these walls.—Listen to the buzz of public expectation from your constituents gathered round this building. Do you not catch the throbs of public anxiety.—The House full beyond example, the people anxious, the public mind excited to irritation, the public voice (if you believe the Noble Lord) clamorous for this awful measure, and yet the speech from the throne silent, as if no such thing had ever been heard of before, and the Noble Lord not ready until another fortnight shall elapse, to subvert the Constitution.—Sir, that Constitution commands me, and my own feelings induce me, to consider that speech as the speech of the Minister, and not of my Sovereign, or his Representative, otherwise I should interpret this to be a gracious silence; I should attribute it to the virtues of his Majesty, and should thank him from my heart for thus deferring to the real wishes of his People, and resisting the unprincipled advice of his Ministers. But I must consider it the act of the Minister, and as such I pronounce it to be part of that mixed system of presumption and meanness, which has distinguished the conduct of Administration from the first introduction of this question to this hour—some part of that combination of audacious stride and reptile fraud which has been arrayed against the Constitution of my country, some little dirty piece of partizanship, which the head that conceived it would call generalship

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—some low manœuvre of despicable cunning, which the brain that hatched it would call wisdom—some little contrivance to call in the Minister's outposts, or bring up his conscripts—some branch of that depraved and abominable system, which has been introduced by fraud, supported by corruption, and recruited by apostacy.—I therefore concur with the Honourable Baronet, whom I am very proud to call my Honourable friend, that because the Minister is silent, the Parliament should speak out, should pledge itself to consistency and to virtue, should quiet an agitated country, and declare eternal hostility to a measure, which not only threatens the dignity and peace of this nation, but is pregnant with danger to the British connexion, the integrity of the empire, and the stability of the throne.

I strip this formidable measure of all its pretences and its aggravations: I look at it nakedly and abstractedly, and I see nothing in it but one question—*will you give up the country?*—I forget for a moment the unprincipled means by which it has been promoted, I pass by for an instant the unseasonable moment at which it was introduced, and the contempt of parliament upon which it is bottomed, and I look upon it simply as England reclaiming, in a moment of your weakness, that dominion which you extorted from her in a moment of your virtue, a dominion which she uniformly abused, which invariably oppressed and impoverished you, and from the cessation of which you date all your prosperity. It is a measure which goes to degrade the country by saying it is unworthy to govern itself, and to stultify the parliament, by saying it is incapable of governing the country.—It is the revival of the odious and absurd title of conquest; it is the renewal of the abominable distinction between mother country and colony which lost America; it is the denial of the rights of nature to a great nation, from an intolerance of its prosperity.—No man would be so frantic as to state as an abstract proposition, that Ireland is physically disfranchised from the common privileges of nations. If you stated to a native of a foreign nation that a country, containing a population of nearly five millions of inhabitants, and a territory of nearly nineteen millions of English acres, inhabited by a brave and generous people, blest by nature with a fertile soil, and every aptitude for commercial prosperity and domestic wealth, was physically incapable of governing itself, that foreigner would laugh at you. If you stated that a country containing relatively nearly a half of the population of Great Britain, though scarcely a third of its territory, and containing a metropolis at least the fourth city in Europe, exceeding in extent and population the capitals of his Majesty's imperial allies, the Emperors of Russia and Germany, was by nature doomed to provincial inferiority, and was radically disqualified from governing,

verning itself, you would pronounce a libel upon a bountiful Providence, and a libel that would not be endured.

What title then do you make to the dependence of Ireland? I tremble at the dreadful alternative which this question suggests, I warn you against the consequences of answering me, that the Imperial relation with Great Britain is the cause of it, and I caution the Treasury Bench against propounding that formidable and alarming doctrine, that British connexion is inconsistent with Irish independence. I have ever looked upon British connexion with fond veneration as a polar principle in politics, by which every loyal Irishman would steer his opinions—I have always felt it to be a sacred truth, which it would be prophane to deny, and almost prophane to examine; but this formidable and desperate project tears away the veil in which I would have shrouded its sanctity, compels us to balance liberty against connexion, and proposes this monstrous and delicate investigation; whether it be of the essence of our connexion with Great Britain that we cannot be free. God forbid, that the dreadful answer which the Minister would suggest to this question were true—God forbid, that such loose and dangerous speculations were set afloat, and that the first and best principles of politics in this island were to be thus unfixed and shaken to their foundations—I hold it that Irish independence is not only consistent with British connexion, but necessary to it—I therefore caution the Minister to beware how he would shake the strongest pillar of the empire, to beware how he tampers with, how he neutralizes or alienates the first sentiment in the bosom of every loyal Irishman, that sentiment active as his life, and warm as his heart's blood—to stand and fall with Great Britain—that sentiment paramount to every consideration but one, and secondary to nothing, but a devotion to the independence of Ireland. Depend upon it, Sir, there is no second modification of that connexion which will ever be submitted to—no other will be borne than the connexion of the Crown, and the independence of the Parliaments.

You are called upon to give up your independence, and to whom are you to give it up? To a nation which for six hundred years has treated you with uniform oppression and injustice. The Treasury Bench startles at the assertion—*non meus hic sermo est*. If the Treasury Bench scold me, Mr. Pitt will scold them—it is his assertion in so many words in his speech—Ireland, says he, has been always treated with injustice and illiberality—Ireland, says Junius, has been uniformly plundered and oppressed. This is not the slander of Junius, or the candour of Mr. Pitt—it is history—For centuries has the British nation and Parliament kept you down, shackled your commerce, paralyzed your exertions, despised your character, and ridiculed your pretensions
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to any privileges commercial or constitutional. She never conceded a point to you which she could avoid, or granted a favour which was not reluctantly distilled. They have been all wrung from her, like drops of her heart's blood, and you are not in possession of a single blessing except those which you derive from God, that has not been either purchased or extorted by the virtue of your own Parliament from the illiberality of England. Is the interval from the year 1779 to the year 1782 forgotten? How did you obtain your mutiny bill, your essential bill, the repeal of Poyning's law, the independence of your judges, the restoration of the appellant jurisdiction, your free trade, and finally, your free Constitution? An honourable gentleman (Mr. Martin) has argued elaborately, that all these were not obtained by the Irish Parliament, or grudged by the English, but were the mere spontaneous effusions of royal bounty, a boon not merely conceded to, but almost inflicted by his Majesty, upon the reluctance of the Irish Parliament. Why Sir, I was obliged just now to trouble Mr. Pitt to confute the Irish Treasury Bench, and I must now request of Lord Minto to confute the Honourable Gentleman, I presume not to set up my assertion against the Honourable Gentleman's, but surely he will not refuse to believe the authority of that disinterested and philanthropic nobleman, who has condescended to illuminate the understandings of the Irish nation, and whose authority is so undeniably accredited by the gratuitous circulation of his speech at the expence of the Irish administration. That noble Metaphysician, tells you expressly that all those favours were extorted from England at a moment when England was in *duress*—*duress* is his word; his Lordship seems to have a smattering of forensic phrases, and to have put together a little Scotch law with a little Dutch logic, which, mixed with a good deal of lofty English, has recommended his work to the British Cabinet because he has had the modesty to write down the liberties and character of Ireland which however the sound discretion of writing those down in another country. *Duress*, I repeat it, is his word. How was your demand of a free trade received? The very idea of the Irish Colonist pretending to a free trade excited universal horror and alarm throughout that very nation, at whose feet you are now called upon to prostrate that very Parliament which demanded and achieved for you that blessing. Almost every commercial town from Cornwall to the Orkneys, took fire and petitioned against your presumption, and Lord North the Minister of the day, when he stated your pretensions to the British Parliament, also stated your power, and reconciled that assembly to the concession by hinting that it was a revocable boon. What then is the result of these authorities compared together? It is this—

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Dominion

Dominion over Ireland is the legal inheritance of England.—Mr. Pitt did not cite the injustice of England as a proof of his penitence, but as the title deeds of her power and the monuments of her claim. That power, that inheritance, was fraudulently conveyed away by duress in the year 1782, and the Irish Parliament is now called upon as a great Court of Equity, to rip up the fraud and set aside the transaction. Such were the transactions of 1782. How is the interval between that and the revolution disposed of by history?—It is a dark age, I am willing to pass it by. It is all in the spirit of the 6th of George the First, but you read it, not in the dead letter of an act of Parliament—you read it in the extant correspondence of an English Lord Justice with the English Minister:—

“An idle notion begins to prevail here of the consequence of this nation—say, some begin to talk of its independence—A Bishop is dead—Send me over an Englishman—I cannot answer for the English interest, if his successor be Irish.—Judge such-a-one died yesterday—By all means replace him from England.—The very best of the Irish, let them say what they will, cannot help thinking of what they call the Irish interest.—If that spirit be not kept down, I cannot answer for the consequences.” This is a faint paraphrase of two volumes of a Ministerial Correspondence; presenting one of the most genuine and lamentable pictures of a provincial government that can be imagined.—I ask, what is your inducement to become a province again? At the Revolution, what treatment did Ireland receive? That was no dark age—It was an æra of Civil Liberty—The Parliament, the People and the King, were Whigs:—If the principles of Civil Liberty were not founded upon immutable truth, William III. was an usurper, the English nation were rebels, and James II. was a deposed, but lawful monarch.—These principles were gospel in England, but when applied to a petty province like Ireland, they became a heresy not to be listened to, and a presumption not to be endured—the glories of the Revolution would have been tarnished, if the Irish Provincialist had been allowed to partake in them; and the air of liberty would have been tainted, if the Colonist had been allowed to breathe it.—At this time Poyning’s law was in force, and a tolerably sharp law it was, but it was not thought sharp enough for us. Three Irish Money Bills were originated in the British Privy Council—This was an outrage even of Poyning’s Law—This House rejected them, and recorded in their Journals the cause of the rejection. A member of this House wrote a treatise upon the subject of English Laws binding Ireland. He was a man of family, fortune, profound learning, brilliant genius, and amiable character. He was then the Representative of the University; I believe he had before represented this city. He dedicated his book to the King. The dedication breathed a spirit of fervent and enthusiastic loyalty.

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The principles of his book were the title of the king to his throne—they were the principles of civil liberty, but the sophism of the book was, that it applied to a province what was only true of a nation, and the wisest and freest assembly upon earth (I think that is the present name of the British Parliament) condemned the book to be burned by the hands of the common hangman—the sentence was executed, but the wisest and freest assembly upon earth did not stop here—the wisest and freest assembly upon earth voted two or three Irish acts of the Irish Parliament (which had presumed to re-enact some English ones,) to be libels, and to have encouraged the inflammatory positions of the book. I do not pretend to understand the commercial part of this question, and I am sure, if ever I had collected any partial information upon that topic, I should be ashamed, Sir, to offer my crude opinion upon that subject in an assembly where the forms of Parliament compel me to address you. But what does history tell us of the feelings of England upon that subject? In the very same reign of William the III. the parliament of England complained to the king as a grievance that Ireland enjoyed the woollen manufacture—that had been a most ancient manufacture in Ireland. Our woollen exports from the reign of Edward the 1st, had been considerable and the trade was prosperous. The wisest and the freest assembly upon earth stated by petition their jealousy of this manufacture and prayed for strict laws to *prohibit and suppress the same*—the king's answer to this dutiful and loyal address was, that *he would do all that in him lay, to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland*—the royal word was pledged and faithfully kept—a duty amounting to a prohibition was laid upon woollen exports—no Parliament was suffered to meet in Ireland for five years, and the woollen manufacture perished—in the year 1750, near half a century afterwards, a jealous people were convinced that this illiberal policy was injurious even to themselves, but even the experience of fifty years did not soften the spirit of exclusive domination, and they who had ruined the nation by wholesale, partially and rigidly relaxed their former injustice—in that year the woollen manufacturers at Westmoreland and Yorkshire, petitioned the British parliament for liberty to import *wool and woollen yarn* from Ireland into their two ports, Lancaster and Great Yarmouth.—When Westmoreland and Yorkshire petitioned the wisest and freest assembly upon earth, they petitioned not in vain, and Ireland was permitted to export to two ports, the raw material of that of which fifty years before she exported the manufacture to the whole world. History has erected another monument for Ireland to stir by—in the reign of Charles the 2d, the exportation of live cattle from Ireland, was prohibited by an English act of Parliament; the benefits of this trade were

very problematical as to Ireland, but it was demonstrably not injurious to England, but it was a trade, and why should a province have a trade? The king was shocked at the illiberality of this act, and the bill received every opposition from him and his friends—the bill passed the Commons—the preamble of it declared that for Ireland to export cattle was a *nuisance*. In the House of Lords there were many fruitless attempts made to qualify the virulence of the Commons, and even the change of the word *nuisance* into the milder terms of *detriment* and *mischiefs* was debated and rejected—a proposal to make the importation *only a felony or a praemunire*, met the same fate—*nuisance* was the most insulting word, and *nuisance* was adopted. The great duke of Ormond in vain opposed the torrent of illiberality, and the duke of Buckingham told him in debate to his beard, *that none could oppose this bill, but those who had Irish estates or Irish understandings*. The king at the peril of losing the supplies of the year, reluctantly gave the royal assent; this is a short abstract of a long and disgusting detail of similar historical facts: is it not then worth while to consider the nature of a proposition, which is made to you by a nation which has so treated you, and is it rational to abuse all the advantages of experience, and infer her present sincerity and good faith from her former oppression and her recent perfidy? Is it from centuries of wrong that you predicted the affection of her present proposal, and because her people are unanimous in offering you an Union, are you to forget that they were unanimous in refusing you a free trade? What is the meaning of that argument which says, while her power was qualified, her treatment of you has been oppressive, but when it becomes absolute, her conduct will be generous? What reasoning is that which calls upon you to surrender an institution which has procured you every thing, and submit to a country which has denied you every thing? Will any one believe that all this was done because you had a Parliament, and that too a Parliament until the other day so shackled by Poyning's law, and the 6th of George the 1st, that it was barely nominal, and that the moment you cease to have a Parliament, a golden age of justice and liberality is to succeed? This argument is beyond my comprehension, and yet how has Ireland advanced and improved even under all these discouraging circumstances? In 100 years her population has increased near 3 millions and a half, the face of the country has changed, this majestic city has risen in the midst of it; Ireland has sprung and vegetated under the foot that trampled her; her physical energies could not be kept down—compression seems to have given vigour to the efforts which she made, to recover her natural dimensions, and at last she burst from her confinement, and became herself in the year 1782—this has been the result of the gradual but constant

stant victories obtained by a resident Parliament over the prejudices of a foreign one, and since 1782 the progress has not been gradual but rapid—shall then the stationary prosperity, or slow advances of Scotland in 70 or 80 years, be attributed to nothing but her Union, and shall the race of Ireland to improvement in 17 short years, be attributed to every thing but her independence? What Ireland might be now if she had been differently treated is a picture for the fancy. Had her Constitution not been fettered—had her commerce not been crippled—had her character been respected—what would she have been at this day? An Irish imagination dwells on the speculation with fond conjecture; but how does the picture exhibit itself to an English fancy? Ireland, says the Castle Manifesto, might have grown too great to be governed. Ireland, say the arguments of this night, has, in her greatness, a tendency to separation. Base, ungrateful, and cowardly slander! It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, as if the confessions of the Irish Directory, as appearing upon the Report of the Secret Committee, had been gotten by heart, and committed to memory, for the speeches of this night. This is one of the topics of that Directory; the answer of one of those unfortunate men, now in exile, is: that Ireland *has outgrown her connexion with England*. The castle takes up the text, and preaches upon it; and we hear that Ireland may grow too great to be governed. Amiable and candid consistency of argument! that in one breath states the Union to be the means of making us great, happy, and powerful; and in the other says, we are to be made greater than we are, for fear we should grow too great to be governed. But is there in Ireland's greatness that tendency to separation? Let your memories refute the calumny—What was the case of 1782? England was prostrate—or to use Lord Minto's technical phrase, *in duress*; Ireland was, as far as depended upon England, defenceless; as far as depended upon herself, invincible—there were scarcely regular troops enough in the country to mount the Castle guard—80,000 men bristled in arms—invansion was threatened and averted—the British sun seemed to have set—the empire was dismembered—America had been dismembered—Lord Cornwallis's sword was left in the care of General Washington; the combined fleets swept the channel, and frowned upon the coast, and what was the conduct of Ireland? Separation? Oh no! An acclaiming people cheered a loyal Parliament, and the sentiment of standing or falling with Great Britain echoed from one end of the island to the other. What was the case of the year 1798?—No one can forget that day. The contagion of French principles which had spared no part of Europe, and no part of this Empire reached Ireland—the republican faction meditated separation: the

the resident Parliament investigated the conspiracy and armed the Executive with vigorous authority: in a few weeks 40,000 men rose in arms at the call of British connexion. The zeal ran so high and the spirit was so buoyant, that Parliament was obliged to check its exuberance, and a motion of the Honourable Baronet who moved this amendment [Sir Laurence Parsons] for an encrease of the yeomanry was resisted and negatived. All ranks, all professions, all ages, thronged to the standard, and the rebellion was put down. While England has run the race of dominion, Ireland has run the race of connexion---I trust she never may retrace her steps.---Was separation then in 1798, the tendency of the Irish gentry, and is it for that that an Irish Parliament cannot be suffered to exist? Was it for separation that the dangers and fatigues of a military life were embraced and courted? Was it for separation that the Merchant left his counting-house and the student his College for the camp? Was it for separation that the youth of the University sprung to arms with the ingenuous ardour of the young heart, and that the spring-bud of the nation put forth its eager and its tender head to brunt the storm?---Oh no!---The country was saved because there was a standard erected in it, round which the Irish gentry loved to rally, and that standard was British connexion.

What is it we are called upon to give up? I speak not of national pride or dignity; I declaim not upon theoretical advantages; but I tell you, that you are called upon to give up that municipal Parliament which has procured you within the memory of you all municipal advantages which no foreign Parliament can supply. We hear of nothing but imperial topics---Good God, is the Parliament nothing but an instrument of taxation? Is nothing understood of an House of Commons but that it is an engine for raising money out of the pockets of the subject and throwing it into the coffers of the Crown? Take up any volume of your statutes upon that table, you will find the municipal acts of Parliament in the proportion of more than forty to one to the imperial: what has within the memory of many men alive, changed the face of your land? What has covered a country of pasture with tillage? What has intersected an impassable country with roads? What has nearly connected by inland navigation the eastern chanel with the western ocean? A resident Parliament---this is not theory---look at your statutes and your journals, and there is not one of those improvements which you cannot trace to some document of your own public spirit now upon that table, and to no other source or cause under heaven; can this be supplied in Westminster---could a committee of this House make a road in Yorkshire? No, nothing can supply a resident Parliament watching over national improvement, seizing opportunities, encouraging manufacture, commerce,

Commerce, science, education, and agriculture, applying instant remedy to instant mischief, mixing with the constituent body catching the sentiment of the public mind, reflecting public opinion, acting upon its impulse and regulating its excess.

And yet a superior view of the danger of this measure, would tempt me to abandon that argument as comparatively light and insignificant; it appears principally formidable to me, as removing the controul of power, and as leaving not a vestige of the British Constitution in the Kingdom—what form of Government is to be left in this country after an Union? A provincial despotism, and nothing else—every function of power will be resident, and the controul of power will be remote—a Lord Lieutenant at the head of an executive Government perfect in all its branches, a distinct army, judicature, church and revenue is to govern this country, and he is to be controuled by what? By a Parliament in Westminster—call this government by what name you please, it is not the British Constitution—no constitutional lawyer will say that it is—what is a Parliament in its most precious constitutional sense? It is the organ of public opinion—it is the controul of power—it controuls the executive by its jealousies—it balances the constitution by its checks—it is the centinel of the people, placed over the prerogative of the crown—it wields the Mutiny Bill and the Money Bill every year; and in doing so, it every year asserts and preserves the Constitution of the country. Yorkshire and Wales, say the metaphysicians, are not degraded by being united to England; true; but here is the sophism; there are no distinct executives in Yorkshire and Wales. The proposition is generally true, that multiplied federal connections, between countries imperially connected, would be absurd; but it is a moral proposition, only true in its degrees; and what is the degree at which it becomes false? It is when Nature preclaims two countries to be sufficiently distinct, to have all the branches of the Executive separate; then the British Constitution pronounces against their having a common legislature; would this proposition have been true of America? Why do not the writs of the court of Westminster run into Ireland? Why is the king obliged to act here by vice-royal deputation? Why does not his English Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his English Attorney General, suffice for him here? It is because Nature has determined the two countries not to be sufficiently proximate for a common Executive, and the same nature upon the same principle, entitles you to an independent Parliament. Look in practice at this question, and figure to yourself an Irish Executive Government, with its responsibility as distant as Westminster. Remember the case of Magee; a Court of Justice was disposed to oppress him; the Government of the country was disposed

disposed to support that Court of Justice—I have in my eye the Hon. Gentleman who brought the case of the oppressed man before this House, the grand Inquest of the Nation. The cause of the individual became the cause of the country—the Minister struck to a minority; the man was righted, and the law was settled: had this case depended upon a Committee of the Courts of Justice in Westminster, what would have been the result? The victim of the fiat would, perhaps, to this hour groan in a dungeon, too distant from Westminster for his groans to be heard, and excessive bail, would be now the Magna Charta of Ireland. We are not always sure of such constituted authorities as we are blest with at present. Perhaps at some future day the departments of the Executive Government may be very differently filled. If we were always to have a Lord Lieutenant distinguished for a strict adherence to the principles of the Constitution, and abhorring, like his present Excellency, the monstrous usurpations of military law—a resident parliament for the purposes of controul might be very unnecessary. If we were always sure of a secretary like the Noble Lord, of purer eyes than to behold corruption, and who would abhor the idea of packing a parliament, or degrading a people, a resident parliament, for the purposes of controul, might be very unnecessary, if we were always sure that the law officers of the crown were as now, to be men of eminent professional character, and high integrity, no such controul might be necessary; but men are mortal; and events are uncertain. Perhaps at some future day the various departments of the state may be filled with men selected for corruption and incapacity; and if that were to be the case, I ask you, where would be the protection for the life, liberty, or property of any honest man, too proud to bend his knees in submission to the provincial despot. Believe me, an Irish military government must succeed to your present Constitution. The idea of a paltry provincial grievance, if the judicature, the army, or the revenue, runs riot, preferred before a distant and fastidious imperial parliament, excites ridicule. The government of this country must become the worst kind of absolute monarchy—a provincial monarchy. In this point of view let England beware of the formidable precedent of five millions of men, governed by uncontrouled power—it is a formidable precedent. In this reign the influence of the crown has made sufficient encroachments upon the liberty of the subject. Two parliaments in one empire have not been found too many bulwarks for the Constitution; and if the liberty of Ireland sinks, let England beware of the vertex in which her own may be absorbed.

But the Constitution we are to surrender, it is asserted; is a mere visionary independence, that we are in fact actually dependent upon England, that her councils influence our parliament,
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and that such influence has encroached upon our Constitution, until nothing is left of it but a name. The new squeamish Reformists of the Treasury Bench cry *faugh* upon the abominations of the Irish parliament—their pure and incorruptible virtue cannot bear the prospect of such corruption; and that they may not see it, they plunge into the midst of it; they are Platonists in politics, the gross sensualities of the connexion disgust them, but the pure and spiritual indulgences of the Union delight them. Their romantic virtue emulates the Roman fame, and the Irish Curtius dashes at the gulph, and would rather let the cattle close upon himself than upon his country. I own, I always suspect this furious virtue; the morals of prudery are always problematical. When I see this pliable patriotism, declaiming with surly indignation to-day, and cringing with supple adulation to-morrow—in the morning Diogenes growling in his tub, in the evening Aristippus fawning in the antichamber, I always suspect there is something behind the curtain more than meets the eye. I would ask some one of those enlarged and liberal politicians, does he think that the simple executive government which is to be left in Ireland, will be an improvement upon our situation, and whether he knows of no method to reform the Parliament, except by annihilating it. The noble Lord may instruct him by retracing the speculations of his youthful days, and supply him with some of those plans of reform which would not have cost him half so much trouble to carry as the extinction of the parliament. But what is to be the transfiguration of this parliament which is to glorify it, and how is this corruptible to put on incorruption? It is sentenced to death—in Ireland it is to suffer the death of a felon; but its resurrection in Westminster, in the midst of angel purity and immaculate innocence, is it seems to compensate the loss of existence, and contrast the immoralities of its life. Alas! Sir, have these high priests of the new dispensation revealed the truth to us as to this paradise of Westminster. Do they know the British parliament who thus speak? Do they think there is there no borough patronage, or borough representation? Do they suppose there are no placemen? Do they conceive it a pool of Bethesda, in which our impurities are to be cleansed? Do they forget that this immaculate parliament more than 20 years ago declared by a vote, that the influence of the crown had increased among them, was increasing, and ought to be diminished? Do they forget that the present Prime Minister declared eighteen years ago, that unless that assembly was radically reformed the empire was lost? Do they know that it has never been reformed since? And do they think that one hundred Irish transplantations will reform it? Have they ever con-

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sidered that there ministerial influence predominates so effectually, that the opposition has seceded in despair? Have they ever visited this exhibition of pure representation? Have they ever looked at Mr. Pitt governing that assembly by his nod, and scarcely concealing his own actual despotism within the forms of the Constitution? Can it escape observation, that the very same men who alledge the actual corruption of parliament as the reason for extinguishing it, also alledge its possible virtue, and its recent virtue as another argument from whence to infer the same conclusion. That the virtue of the parliament in 1782, that its resistance to the commercial propositions in 1785---its resistance to British influence upon the regency question in 1789---its resistance to British influence upon the Union in 1799, and its constant actual dependence upon, and submission to English influence in all public cases whatsoever, are the consistent arguments coming from one and the same party, and supporting one and the same opinion.

But, Sir, I request to know what we are to get for our Parliament? This is what no man yet knows. Every thing is to be taken upon the faith of the Noble Lord, whose promises are veiled in oracular ambiguity. I observe the Treasury Bench cry *hear him*, I perceive the triumph upon this observation---I perceive I am considered absurd for objecting to what I profess not to know---this is very intelligible sophistry, and I am very absurd to be sure, in voting against annihilating the Irish Parliament, before I know upon what terms it is to be annihilated. The noble Lord considers that it would be much more decent and rational first, to consent to its extinction, and then to enquire the price. He will pardon me for differing from him, for I will suppose for a moment, that I know his terms, that all his metaphorical and indefinite metaphysics, his consolidation and identification are reduced into common English, and I will admit that they are the most favourable, the most brilliant, that the most ardent imagination can conceive,

“ Or youthful Poets fancy when they love;”

and I implore the House to consider what is the security for their performance? I may be told the articles of Union and the faith of nations---I hold a compact where one of the contracting parties covenants that he will cease to exist, to be an absurdity---when individuals contract with each other the covenant binds them, and those who survive them---but who is the executor of a Parliament? Who is to enforce the performance when this House is no more?---National faith---a rotten security at the best, but British faith, the rottenest of all---Punic faith---What! Britain talk

talk of her faith in the very moment that she violates the compact of 1782. If ever there was a solemn league and covenant between nations, the settlement of 1782 is that transaction. The two countries adjusting their mutual differences, and solemnizing as it were upon the altar of their common Constitution, the ratification of that adjustment---the Duke of Portland presiding at that solemnity and pledging the royal word to its observance. Not a single phrase of doubt or reservation employed, all apparently above board, honest and explicit; and the same Duke of Portland at the end of 17 years coming forward for the first time and defeazing that solemn and public compact by the production of a private, dark, jesuitical correspondence of his own; a correspondence either treacherously conducted at that period, or falsely fabricated since---a correspondence publicly disowned and disavowed in the English Parliament by General Fitzpatrick who had been his Secretary here;---a correspondence altogether unknown to any of those persons who composed his Irish administration, and carried on in the true character of clandestine fraud, under anonymous concealment. Is there another instance in the history of nations or of individuals, of such complicated perfidy?---Mr. Pitt obliged to justify his violation of the adjustment of 1782, by arguing against its finality, and compelled to build that argument upon the ruin of the Duke of Portland's character, and the Duke by producing this pocket correspondence, assisting in the construction of the edifice himself?---What reliance is to be placed upon national faith when it is deposited in such hands?---Who can tell what correspondence is now carried on by Lord Cornwallis, (I am sure when he acts wrong he acts under bad advice) and can the noble Lord on the Treasury bench be certain that after the most solemn ratification of the Union, he may not be obliged in seventeen years hence to rise in the Imperial Parliament and disclaim like General Fitzpatrick, all participation in the same abominable document of duplicity, then for the first time brought to light?---It does not, Mr. Speaker, tend very much to validate any security now to be entered into, that the very same Duke of Portland who stands convicted of this shameful and base hypocrisy, is now one of the Prime Ministers of England, through whose hands must pass another guarantee for the Irish nation. If there be no reliance upon national faith, can we place much upon private honour?---Can we be disposed to rely upon the fair dealing of Mr. Pitt? He already pledged his word to the British senate that the question should be left to the free and uninfluenced sense of the Irish Parliament.---The House knows how he kept his word. There is no other instance of such an exertion of ministerial influence to controul the free agency of Parliament.---

A proscription issued from the Castle through the servants of the Crown, and from the highest to the lowest station no man who disapproved this measure could keep his office and his integrity.---This is the free and uninfluenced sense of Parliament!---This is the faith of Mr. Pitt!---A forfeited pledge---a dishonoured security!---Is the faith of the noble lord on the Treasury Bench, an additional bond?---He promised not to revive this measure unless explicitly called for by the free and *unbiased* sense of the Irish People.---The House knows how he has kept his word.---I arraign not the noble lord's private honour. I am by no means disposed to do so;---I presume there are two systems of morals in the world, one for politicians, and one for other men.---But I adjure you to consider deeply whether you will be justified to give up the Constitution of your country, and the inheritance of your posterity, upon security such as this?

Allow me to solicit your attention to the shallow and ridiculous pretences for enslaving the country. We have heard from the Government side of the House to-night of nothing but the Rebellion and the conspiracy of the United Irishmen---What, Sir, is the Parliament to be extinguished, and the gentry degraded, because the Parliament and the gentry put down the Rebellion, and defeated the Conspiracy?---Are the gentry to be sacrificed to the rebels, and are the disaffected to be at last conciliated, and how conciliated, by demolishing the Constitution?---If the spirit of republican innovation infected a part of this country, is it to be banished by rendering the country a provincial despotism? Will they who called the connexion slavery, call the Union liberty? Or will they who pretended to reform the Constitution, be suddenly gratified by taking away the only popular part of it?---Yes, Sir, they will be gratified; they are gratified.---The measure delights them whose tendency is to divide from each other those Loyalists, whose unanimity was the bane of Rebellion, and whose division was its only hope.---The Rebellion broke out here---our people are an impetuous and mercurial people---it did not break out in England and Scotland, but the French Conspiracy had taken there the deepest root---the all-healing Union did not protect Scotland from it, nor did the wisest and freest assembly upon earth protect Great Britain from it:---Look at the reports of their Secret Committees---look at their State Trials---observe their United Britons, and Corresponding Societies---their manufacturing pikes at Sheffield and at Birmingham---look at their suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act---look at all the documents of a wide-spreading disaffection, and tell me has any man yet presumed to rise in the British Parliament, and propose the extinction of that assembly and the overthrow of the Constitution?

Or

Or if, at a future day, these seeds of danger should mature into Rebellion, and that that Rebellion be put down by the vigilance of the British Senate, and the valour of the British gentry, will any man be found audacious enough, or will even the noble lord be found audacious enough, to carry his argument across the water, to rise in the Imperial Senate, and proclaim—There has been a Conspiracy, there has been a Rebellion, and therefore Great Britain shall no longer have a Parliament. No, Sir, there is no connexion between the Union and the Rebellion, except that the Rebellion has weakened and exhausted us; that we have lost blood in defence of the empire, and are therefore an easy prey for those who would enslave us.

There are other pretences for this innovation equally absurd, but while I call it an innovation, suffer me not only to observe upon the danger of setting afloat the first principles of politics in an age of Revolutions, but to remind the House, that the very Administration which now devotes Ireland to the miseries of experiment, has involved the empire in war and embarrassment, to resist the spirit of innovation every where else. Innovation in France is not to be pardoned; the blood and treasure of England has flowed for seven years to punish a foreign nation who presumed to innovate, and the same Minister now lavishes the same treasures to inflict upon Ireland the very innovations for which he wages war against France. From the first moment of the French war, the horror of innovation has been the Minister's first principle. *Stare decisis* and *non quista movere* has been the cant of the cabinet. This sentiment has been able to resist every improvement, however necessary, and to push every abuse, however odious. This sentiment has justified Mr. Pitt in suspending, if not deserting, his early politics of Parliamentary Reform. This sentiment has justified the Noble Lord upon the Treasury Bench in a similar apostacy. But this sentiment when applied to Ireland becomes heretical. A province demands a different regimen; and when all Europe is convulsed, and the world bleeds under the inflictions of Revolutionary change, Ireland is condemned to all the horrors of experiment, and a Constitution which has lasted one hundred years, under which the nation prospers, and which the nation loves, is in a rash hour to be levelled with the dust, to gratify that Minister, who calls himself the enemy of innovation.

Another provoking and absurd pretence for this ruinous measure is, that it is for ever to extinguish and obliterate religious feuds. Could this be satisfactorily proved to me, I should be the Union's firmest friend; I lament, I abhor, I loathe, religious distinctions: they have been the only source of misfortune in this country; and to accommodate and terminate the mischiefs
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Or

Or if, at a future day, these seeds of danger should mature into Rebellion, and that that Rebellion be put down by the vigilance of the British Senate, and the valour of the British gentry, will any man be found audacious enough, or will even the noble lord be found audacious enough, to carry his argument across the water, to rise in the Imperial Senate, and proclaim—There has been a Conspiracy, there has been a Rebellion, and therefore Great Britain shall no longer have a Parliament. No, Sir, there is no connexion between the Union and the Rebellion, except that the Rebellion has weakened and exhausted us; that we have lost blood in defence of the empire, and are therefore an easy prey for those who would enslave us.

There are other pretences for this innovation equally absurd, but while I call it an innovation, suffer me not only to observe upon the danger of setting afloat the first principles of politics in an age of Revolutions, but to remind the House, that the very Administration which now devotes Ireland to the miseries of experiment, has involved the empire in war and embarrassment, to resist the spirit of innovation every where else. Innovation in France is not to be pardoned; the blood and treasure of England has flowed for seven years to punish a foreign nation who presumed to innovate, and the same Minister now lavishes the same treasures to inflict upon Ireland the very innovations for which he wages war against France. From the first moment of the French war, the horror of innovation has been the Minister's first principle. *Stare decisis* and *non quista movere* has been the cant of the cabinet. This sentiment has been able to resist every improvement, however necessary, and to push every abuse, however odious. This sentiment has justified Mr. Pitt in suspending, if not deserting, his early politics of Parliamentary Reform. This sentiment has justified the Noble Lord upon the Treasury Bench in a similar apostacy. But this sentiment when applied to Ireland becomes heretical. A province demands a different regimen; and when all Europe is convulsed, and the world bleeds under the inflictions of Revolutionary change, Ireland is condemned to all the horrors of experiment, and a Constitution which has lasted one hundred years, under which the nation prospers, and which the nation loves, is in a rash hour to be levelled with the dust, to gratify that Minister, who calls himself the enemy of innovation.

Another provoking and absurd pretence for this ruinous measure is, that it is for ever to extinguish and obliterate religious feuds. Could this be satisfactorily proved to me, I should be the Union's firmest friend; I lament, I abhor, I loathe, religious distinctions: they have been the only source of misfortune in this country; and to accommodate and terminate the mischiefs
which

which have sprung from them, will require, and I hope will meet, the utmost wisdom and the deepest consideration of Parliament. But for God's sake, how is an Union to do this? One Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. La Touche) argues that nothing else can extinguish the Catholic claims; another Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Martin) asserts that in no other case can the Catholic claims be gratified! Which am I to believe? How is an Union to do either? How is it to do both? Will any liberal Catholic consider himself exalted, merely because his Protestant fellow-subject is depressed? Or will the Protestant Gentry of Ireland consent that in order to leave nothing for the Catholic to demand, there shall be nothing left for themselves to enjoy? Upon this subject my own sentiments are fixed; I never had a second opinion; I have ever considered the classification of mankind by sects, and the exclusion from political privileges on account of religious opinions, as unphilosophical, impolitic, immoral, and unchristian; I have ever considered that the application of the principle to Ireland, has been injurious and destructive; if I ever had doubted it before, I could no longer doubt it now; for of this I am certain, that the degrading and insolent project now under consideration, could never have been proposed to any but to a *divided people*. The idea of a Protestant garrison in a Catholic country, has always revolted my understanding and disgusted my feelings; and while the Catholic remained unemancipated, I have considered the liberty of the Protestant, like the liberty of a gaoler, who can walk abroad when he turns the key on his prisoner, but who lives in a gaol. Sir, while I thus profess my adherence and devotion to the principles of universal toleration and Catholic Emancipation, I do not forget that some of the most respectable and honourable men at both sides of the house, entertain different sentiments. But who is to arbitrate between these different opinions? Is it the Irish Parliament, who know the country, who are acquainted with its local interests and feelings; who, if it be necessary to emancipate, know the season and the degree in which it may be done; and if it be necessary to uphold the Established Religion in its exclusive privileges, know how and when to do it; or is this delicate, momentous, complicated concern, to be delegated to the guardianship of Lord Minto, who makes title to govern the country by professing that he knows nothing about it? If we are to embrace and emancipate our Catholic brethren, shall it be said that an Irish Parliament which has already relaxed the penal laws till scarcely any remain, is incapable of that liberality? And if it be necessary to reject and refuse the Catholic claims, who is it that will tell the Protestant Gentry of Ireland here assembled in Parliament, that they are incompetent to protect themselves? -No,
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an Union is not necessary to do either; but if it be in contemplation to inflame the two sects against each other for the purposes of common subjugation, if some little dirty underhand bargain is to be driven with the Catholic Clergy; if the Protestant interest is to be sold to the Catholic, or the Catholic to the Protestant; if inconsistent promises are to be held out to each in order to deal out impartial treachery to both; then, indeed, there may be some connexion between the two ideas; and as the Rebellion has become an argument for the Union, because it has weakened us, so religion becomes an argument for the Union because it has divided us.

However, Sir, it seems that let a Legislative Union be what it may, Parliament must concede it to the importunities of an unanimous people who clamour for its accomplishment. The people clamour for it, we are told; they are as impatient as a lover, though the Noble Lord is coy, restrains the ardour of their addresses, and cannot be prevailed upon to fix the day for another fortnight. Alas! Sir, I shall never consult the Castle for the sentiments of the people, I have never known the Executive Government to be a faithful organ of public opinion, I have never yet known the Minister to speculate upon popular sentiment, that he was not mistaken, and that the people did not pay very dear for the mistake. To the very last moment of the American war, and until the very hour in which Government was obliged to abandon that ruinous and disgraceful contest, the cry and cant of administration was that the property and character of America was loyal, and that Mr. Washington was at the head of a few factious desperate adventurers. That certainty was a mistake, and a costly mistake. Again, the other day, Mr. Pitt had not the least doubt of the loyal devotion of the people of Holland to the cause of the Stadtholder—Government entertained no doubt upon the popular sentiment in Holland. This was another mistake, and the British Minister has been undeceived at the expence, as I hear, of more than seven millions of money, and the irreparable loss of thousands of brave men. And yet we are to consult the Government Oracle in order to learn the sense of the Irish people!!! Much reliance I find is placed upon the addresses and the signatures procured. I can scarcely recommend it to Government to rely too much upon that; the whole process of those practices is well known and understood, and there are facts capable of proof at the Bar of this House which would leave, if brought forward, administration very little to boast of upon the score of Addresses. Are these addresses matter of surprise to any one? Does it excite much astonishment that an Executive Government in a country under
Martial

Martial Law, at the head of an extensive Ministerial influence, through all the departments of the State, should be able to procure a few thousand signatures to any proposition which they choose to have subscribed? I should consider the Noble Lord a blockhead (which I by no means do) if at the head of the Army; the Revenue, the Yeomanry; and the Church, commanding a host of forces and a Squadron of Bishops, he had not been able to bring forward the addresses which he plumes himself upon---while the Government lasts, the Government may be addressed. James the Second the night or two before his abdication received from almost every part of his dominions loyal addresses, professing that the addressers would stand by him with their lives and fortunes---James the Second left their lives and fortunes behind him, and his successor's establishment proclaimed the real sense of the English nation. So much for public opinion.

Let me adjure the Noble Lord to weigh well and consider deeply the probable permanency of a measure so conducted; let me implore him to avail himself of the passing experience of his own days, and of the instructions which history may afford him, and when he sees volcanic revolutions desolating the face of the political world, the first elementary principles of society loosening and dissolving, and empires not built upon the liberties of the people crumbling into dust, let him contemplate the awful change which he is about to accomplish, and consider the dreadful responsibility he incurs to his sovereign, by exchanging the affections of a loyal nation for the reluctant obedience of a degraded and defrauded province. Let him look for the permanency of this transaction, something farther than to the vote of the night, or the job of the morning, and let him have some better document than his army list for the affections of the people; let him consider whether posterity will validate this act, if they believe that the Constitution of their ancestors was plundered by force, or was filched by practice. Let him before it be too late, seriously ponder, whether posterity will validate this act, if they believe that the basest corruption and artifice were exerted to promote it, that all the worst passions of the human heart were enlisted into the service, and all the most depraved ingenuity of the human intellect tortured to devise new contrivances of fraud. I do not say those things have been---I state hypothetically, and ask if posterity believe such things, will they validate the transaction? If they believe that there was foul play from the first moment to the last, both within doors and without, that the rabble were appealed to from the Parliament, and debauched or intimidated to petition against the Constitution of their country---if they believe that in parliament the

the disgust of the measure notwithstanding a proscription which made office incompatible with honor, stained the Treasury bench; that the disgust of the measure broke asunder and dissociated some of the tenderest and most delicate connexions of human life, that the nominal office of Escheator of Munster became an office of honourable competition, and after the Parliament was thus reduced, that the Irish Commons were recruited from the English Staff. If they were to believe those things, and that human frailty and human necessities were so practised upon, that the private sentiments and the public conduct of several could not be reconciled, and that where the Minister could influence twenty votes, he could not command one *hear him!*---I say not that these things are so; but I ask you if your posterity believe them to have been so, will posterity validate this transaction, or will they feel themselves bound to do so,?---I answer, where a transaction, though fortified by seven-fold form, is radically fraudulent, that all the forms and solemnities of law are but so many badges of the fraud, and that posterity, like a great court of conscience, will pronounce its judgment,--let me not be misunderstood---I am sure I shall be misrepresented,--odious as this measure is in my eyes, and disgusting to my feelings, if I see it carried by the free and uninfluenced sense of the Irish Parliament, I shall not only defer and submit, but I will cheerfully obey. It will be the first duty of every good subject. But fraud, and oppression, and unconstitutional practice, may possibly be another question. If this be factious language, Lord Somers was factious, the founders of the Revolution were factious, William the Third was an usurper, and the Revolution was a Rebellion. For what did James the Second lose his Crown? Can the case of the seven Bishops be compared with the case of Ireland?---I shall not draw the parallel.

I have too long troubled you, but before I sit down let me for once conjure this House, to consider whether this be a transaction altogether upon which they are willing to commit themselves, their properties, their characters, and their children. Let me conjure them to weigh that question well, if private honour and public virtue be not a name, and if every generous feeling be not banished from amongst us. Where is that spirit which in the year 1782 swelled the crest and glorified the character of Irish gentry, which achieved liberty for yourselves, and extorted justice from England, and admiration from Europe? Is it fled and extinguished for ever? I will not believe it. But were every appeal to every thing human fruitless and vain, I would invoke that Providence which even in my short life has so often stretched his protecting arm over my country---in my short life my country from a province has become a

nation---has been protected from a bloody Rebellion and a formidable Invasion, and has seen one desperate attempt against her Liberties and Constitution frustrated and overthrown---I will rely on God to save Ireland.

Mr. PRENDERGAST followed Mr. Bushe, and supported the other side of the question. He took an extensive view of the radical defects in, and evil consequences flowing from the present subsisting connexion, which thus risked separation. A misfortune to Ireland, and the empire, not otherwise to be sufficiently precluded, except in a fair and full consolidation of the Legislatures.

Mr. I. M. O'DONEL.—Although man is an imitative animal, yet I shall not follow the example set me this night by the noble Lord and his *law* friends, who have introduced personal invective instead of argument, and branded with the names of *faction* and *treason*, those who have honourably come forward to support their country. For my part Mr. Speaker, I belong to no faction or party, I am unalterably attached to my country, and as I hold in the most sovereign contempt the insinuations held out by the noble Lord against this side of the House, I shall not *insinuate*, but treat his conduct as a Minister in that free manner, which I think it deserves, and which I feel myself not only entitled but called on to do.

When last session I saw the noble Lord, prostrate before this House, when after his defeat I beheld him begging the continuance of our support; I mistook meanness for contrition, and refused to trample on the fallen enemy of my country, nay, convinced of his sincerity and that his promise might be relied on, I gave him my support. But what has been his conduct since? using every means of corruption to debauch the morals of the people, to destroy the constitution of his country; the noble Lord has sought for confidence in order to *betray* it. He has pretended to public virtue, to give effectual strength to public vice, and he has assumed the name of patriot for the particular purpose of assassinating and destroying the liberties and constitution of his country. *Such* is the minister! and *there* is the man. If this night I shall talk of the *majesty* of the people, the noble Lord has set me the example, he has appealed from the sense of *this House*, to the very dregs of the commonalty, he has sent into the very goals for signatures against the will of this assembly. Had the noble Lord appealed fairly to and really taken the sense of the nation on this great question, I should have admired such conduct, but he has not done so. He knows he has not. Has he, a representative of one of the most populous counties of this kingdom, asked the sense of his constituents? he has not. Has he dared to contradict the assertion this night made to you, by his colleague
“ that

"that the county of Down are to a man against this measure?" he has not. What then does this political monster mean by taking the sense of the people? It has been said that nineteen counties have called for the discussion, I deny it, the assertion is false. In some counties, individuals have been forced to sign resolutions sent down from the castle? Does the noble Lord call such the sense of the counties? a kingdom under martial law, sheriffs appointed by the minister, refusing to convene their counties, the gallows and the gibbets in each market town, resolutions ready printed and a pen and ink and paper in the hand of some government informer. Is it easy to refuse a man's signature for such persuasive arguments? notwithstanding, look to the spirited sentiments which are daily poured in from those very counties; see those from Armagh, Limerick, Tipperary, Leitrim, Galway, Roscommon, Monaghan, Sligo, Westmeath, &c. What will the noble Lord say, has he the sense of the people?

In the county of Mayo, signatures were procured, in many instances the names of gentlemen and magistrates have been set down without their knowledge, and the names of men who do not reside or are not known in that county. I shall relate one instance to shew, in what manner signatures have been procured. I request the attention of the House while I relate it, as it is of some consequence, and is a fact which may be relied on. A Roman Catholic Bishop, whose conduct was of that notorious nature, while the French and rebels were in possession of the county, that I have heard the most honourable men of the county declare, no loyal man would sit in his company, and over whose guilty head the heavy punishments of the law were impending, this noted rebel signed a declaration in favor of the Union, and procured the signatures of some of his clergy and parishioners, immediately all his crimes were washed away and he now struts secure even from prosecution, but the notoriety of his rebellion was so great, that although it had appeared to the commissioners for examining claims, that he had suffered great and heavy losses, yet they refused the slightest compensation, because it appeared evident that he had been a disloyal subject, yet this man is now the friend and supporter of the present government.

The Gentlemen on that Bench, pretend to laugh at and treat as trifling, the idea of bringing proof to the Bar of this House of the public delinquency of that noble Lord. So well they may, while surrounded by such creatures, and shielded by such numbers, but I here pledge myself to this House, that if an enquiry shall be granted, I will prove at that bar, that he has attempted to corrupt some of the members of this House, and that he has applied the means placed in his hands for the

defence and preservation of this kingdom, for the purpose of destroying it, and depriving us of our constitution.

Sir, I oppose this measure, because I see it ruinous and disgraceful. I oppose it; because I know the foul means which have been made use of to carry it into effect; and I oppose it, because there is no power vested in us to hand over to another country the constitution, the laws and the liberties of Ireland. I do assert Sir, in the most solemn manner, that this House is *not* competent to do the act, and that should its folly, its ignorance and its corruption, influence it to pass such a bill, that bill will not be binding on the people; as one, I shall never feel it binding on me. I invoke this House to pause and reflect on the certain consequences of continuing to support the minister in this measure, ruin to this kingdom, destruction to the empire; for my part I believe it impossible ever to induce me to raise my arm against the British Crown, but I can never think of a king of Ireland, without an Irish Constitution; and if Ireland shall be plundered of her Constitution, I shall never think it incumbent on me to risk my life in support of a King, *when there will be no Parliament resident, and no Constitution to direct.*

Mr. OSBORNE opposed the amendment, he said that when early in the last session a motion of a similar tendency and nature was brought forward, the good sense, prudence and moderation of the House immediately took the alarm, the independent gentlemen stood aloof from party---they refrained from taking the test of faction, and kept themselves free to be directed at a future period by the instructions of their constituents or their own corrected convictions. He said, that had he entered the House, and had not heard the amendment read, he would have supposed that the question of debate was on the alternative of Union or separation, and certainly he had never heard eloquence more strongly exerted towards the latter object than that exercised by an honorable gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Bushe.) He could not however see for what purpose such minute and pertinacious enumeration was made of grievances and evils which it should be the object of every patriot mind to forget for ever. Gentlemen talked much of the Constitution of 1782, but what was that Constitution? what, he asked, were its imperial functions? Where was its power of decision in peace or war? Where was the responsibility of governors to the Parliament? It existed not. Mr. Osborne next glanced at the jealousies between the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, and the injurious consequences to the Empire. Let, said Mr. Osborne, the Parliament of Ireland give to this important question a fair and candid investigation. Let the measure be met with the respect which it deserves, and the cool deliberation

liberation which wisdom prescribes, and then should it be rejected, it will at least be sent out of this House under circumstances which will prevent it's being brought into it again, and will give to the votes of this assembly the sanction of reflection.

Mr. HARDY said, that he had not been one of those gentlemen who interrupted the Right Hon. Baronet in the course of his speech. for though he agreed with those Gentlemen, that the Right Hon. Baronet's statement, that nineteen counties had declared in favour of a Union, was perfectly incorrect, yet he would, for the sake of argument, admit that it was right, and even with this concession, he would deny that these declarations furnished any solid ground for a Union. If such a measure had not the most full, clear, and unequivocal sense of the whole Kingdom in its favor, it would be more than presumption, it would be folly and madness in ministers to proceed with it. The same Right Hon. Gentleman had said, that if any person would point out to him in what respect the Union would be prejudicial to Ireland, he would vote against it. "If," continued Mr. Hardy, "he is not convinced by all that has been said and written already, it would be in vain for me to attempt any change in his mode of thinking on this subject; but I can with great safety assert, that if he, or any other gentleman, can satisfy my mind, that this measure would be beneficial to Ireland, I should not oppose it. But what argument have its advocates brought forward in its support? Not the semblance of one. They certainly give us very fine words, and tell us that the Union will effect great matters; but how it can effect them, no one has ever yet proved."

Mr. Hardy then proceeded to take up the charges of faction and sedition, as applied by the Right Hon. the Attorney General, to the opposition, and said that of all the strange assertions which were made by the opposite side, this was the most extraordinary. It was utterly unfounded. Gentlemen were charged with inflammatory speeches, and those speeches were gravely said to have produced the late rebellion, or to have been in a great measure the origin of it, when it was notorious to all Ireland, that the leaders in those disturbances particularly desired, and exhorted their adherents not to pay the slightest attention to what was going on in Parliament. This was their language several years ago, and when a paper was set up avowedly under their influence, it proceeded exactly on a similar principle, and on its very onset declared, that our debates were beneath its notice, and formed no part whatever of the plan of its conductors. This is known, I believe, to all who hear me; and yet this charge of inflammatory speeches makes up more than one-half of what is said at the other side in favor of a Union! And then the Right Hon.

Hon. Gentleman goes on to tell the House, what favorites we were of Mons. Humbert, the French general, that he charged his soldiers to spare the opposition; and the Gentleman adds, that for once he will imitate the enemy, and like him, he also will spare the opposition. We are much obliged to the learned Gentleman, yet, if on another visit of Mons. Humbert to this country, Ireland should not find him a more formidable antagonist than we have his learned imitator on this night, I think the country will not suffer much, and the opposition may fairly take its chance with the rest of his Majesty's loving subjects.— A noble Lord (Lord Castlereagh) has said, that the opposition wishes to take advantage of the absence of several members, and to carry this amendment whilst they are not here. Perhaps the converse of this proposition would be more consonant to the fact, and that it is the Noble Lord who wishes to take advantage of us, and to avoid the discussion of any question, till he gets those Members into the House, who, he well knows, will vote as he does. But all this is mere puerility. A great question, like the Union, cannot, and must not, depend on a dozen or sixteen Placemen. It must depend on the genuine, unbought sense of the Parliament, speaking that of the Country. I know that it is given out, that the Minister will push this business, even with a majority of four, or five. But that I cannot believe. It might be agreeable to his unbending mind to do so, but it is utterly inconsistent with his superior understanding. Some of the writs moved for to-night will be in the room of Gentlemen, who have accepted places at the Revenue Board; respectable men certainly, but who, as Commissioners, cannot sit in that British House of Commons, to the feet of which, (if a slight majority was to decide the question) their voices alone might carry the House of Commons of Ireland. No. If the affections of the People do not run with this question, every thing else is false and hollow. Away with all manœuvring and trick. The Noble Lord opposes the Hon. Baronet's Amendment, because the House, as he says, is not full at present. And why is it not?— He himself can best answer that question. His doctrine is abstractedly right. The House ought to be as full as possible. But has the Noble Lord paid much attention to his own doctrine, who, not only now, but during all the last Session, crowded election on election in such a manner, and made so many vacancies, that several places remained unrepresented, over and over again, so that the electors could scarcely have time to distinguish the actual member from his successor. If some members of this House had not preferred the interests of Ireland to their own emolument, many vacancies could not have been; and when contrary to every principle of the freedom of debate, those

members

members are removed from their places, says the Noble Lord, "Oh, wait for a fortnight, till you have the advantage of a full and free debate on this most interesting of all questions." It is true, that it is usual in England, on a great change of men and measures, when there must necessarily be a very extensive acceptance of offices, for an adjournment to take place; besides, the most important part of the Cabinet may be composed of some members of the House of Commons, so that till they are again returned, public business must necessarily be at a stand. But is that the case here? Has there been any change of men and measures? The Union has not been abandoned, and Ministers remain where we left them. The objections therefore to the Amendment on this head, fall to the ground. But, say Gentlemen, there is no necessity for the Amendment, the sense of the nation is now decidedly in favour of a Union. This too I never can believe. I am sure, if it were true, I should not blame Mr. Pitt for treating us with the contempt we deserved.--For what could be expected from, or what reliance placed on a temper so volatile and so uncertain? In 1782, rejoicing at the acquirement of a new Constitution, almost deifying those who promoted it, and in 1800 (scarcely eighteen years) rejecting that very Constitution with scorn, and submitting to be told that we were idiots for rejoicing at it, that it was a foolish, imperfect work, and why? Because there have been a French war, and a French invasion since that time, as if there had been no war or invasion till then, and there has been a rebellion, which is now extinguished---by whom? an Imperial Parliament.--No? but by your own. If it had been by the former, there would have been no end to the panegyrics on Mr. Pitt's wisdom in having the Union ready to combat it, and that nothing else could have combated it effectually. Since the Union with Scotland two rebellions have taken place in that country, and it would be just as good reasoning for an English Member of Parliament to propose in 1746 dissolving that Union on account of those two rebellions, as it is here to propose a Union with England on account of one. Rebellion is the severest of national calamities, but if a legislature is to vanish because there has been rebellion, or to undergo some great change on every great disaster in politics, I think, that if the war lasts much longer, some of the younger part of the House, may before they die, have the satisfaction of living under as many forms of Government as the Abbé Sieyès has done. But for a Parliament to extinguish a rebellion, and then to have that rebellion urged as one of the arguments for their own extinction, is surely a whimsical way of treating a people, not yet declared out of their senses by Act of Parliament--But, say gentlemen, look at the Addresses. I have seen

seen many, and pass over the pantomimical trick of filling up entire news-papers with names, many respectable I dare say, but whether they are, or not, who can tell? But do Ministers call upon these numbers to contradict and overshadow Parliament? If numbers are to be resorted to, the Roman Catholics might out-number all these numbers, and if the Union is to be supported on that multitudinous ground, so might the Roman Catholic claims to seats in this House some years ago, but ministers then cried out against all such empiricisms, in politics, yet they themselves now embrace all these empiricisms, and have recourse to the most dangerous experiment of setting up the People against the House of Commons, and the House of Commons against the People, just as it suits their own particular purposes. The Lord Lieutenant represents the Executive power. What would the English House of Commons say, if, after condemning a measure in its very first approaches, the Secretary of State should open a correspondence with the East and West, North and South, and tell those various correspondents in his Majesty's name, that he was highly gratified that their sentiments coincided with his on that particular measure which their representatives had so condemned, and that nothing but that condemned measure could save the country. Such a procedure, therefore, here, is unauthorized by the whole tenor of parliamentary usage in England, and militating against every thing that can be called the English constitution.

The Noble Lord has not entered into the question of Union, nor shall I at present; but before I sit down, I shall make one observation on what has fallen from him. He says, that his Majesty, and the two Houses of the British Parliament, strongly recommend this measure. To his Majesty's wishes I pay every deference: but, as the Noble Lord knows as well as I do, how unconstitutional it is to make use of his name, I say no more on that point. And as to the two Houses, I think that they are mistaken: enlightened as they are, they do not know this country as we do. I do not found any sinister augury on the recollection; but I do recollect the time, when the British Parliament seemed as decided in the speculative doctrine that they might tax America, as they now seem to be, that the Irish Legislature should be incorporated with the British; but time has shewn how eminently pernicious such doctrines were. What inference, then, must the plainest understanding draw from this too fatally recorded opinion of the British Parliament? That the Irish Parliament should not be too precipitant in acquiescing in the sentiments of another, merely because they are their sentiments, and that both kingdoms should for ever be taught by it, to reject all theories, and to rest upon experience.

Mr.

Mr. A. MOORE.—When I came into the House this day, I expected to have heard from the Noble Lord and his colleagues a language very different from that tone of insult and authority with which they have commenced the session—indeed I could scarcely persuade myself that the same men in whose hands the measure of an Union had been defeated with so much disgrace to them, and such signal triumph to this House and to the country, would have had the temerity or the courage to meet the same Parliament again in office, with a bold avowal of their perseverance in that most abominable and destructive project. I did imagine that instead of, intemperately declaring against the members of this House and charging them with the foulest motives, and the most factious designs for doing their duty to their king and country, we should have heard the Noble Lord and his associates in power, supplicating in humble and repentant accents the pardon and forgiveness of this injured country, and imploring the representatives of the people to overlook their transgressions in the sincerity of their repentance. But instead of that we are assailed with abuse—we are loaded with calumny—we are described as a faction, and we are called upon by the Noble Lord to wait till he is prepared, and he promises you that in a fortnight he will attack you when he shall have secured a majority, when the forces of corruption shall be completely disciplined—when the poignards shall be prepared to give the last mortal blow to the expiring Constitution of our country.—Will the Parliament now by postponing their decision, become accessory in the guilt of the administration, and thereby enable the Noble Lord to put his threat of the last session in force, “*that he never would lose sight of the measure,*” or will you sacrifice the dearest interests of Ireland on the altar of vanity and vain glory, in order that the most Noble Marquis who presides over the Government may close his long and honourable military career with the splendid triumph of a Legislative Union, the accomplishment of which he has declared to be the sole remaining object of his political solicitudes. Sir, I will not now fatigue the House with the discussion of the question of Union, because I have already given my opinion upon that subject, and because this House has already unequivocally rejected it—but I cannot refrain from calling the attention of the House to the wicked and unconstitutional *means* which have been resorted to, in order to impose upon the country, to destroy the Parliament, and to overturn the Constitution, means, many of which are in my power to prove at that Bar, and all of which are universally known, and almost openly avowed, and the authors, promoters, and perpetrators of which, I hope yet to see brought to condign punishment, judged by that Parliament which they have attempted to annihilate, and prosecuted by that people whom they meditated to

enslave. Sir, not only the opinion and sense of Parliament is set at nought, but their privileges and forms are abused and derided, the respect paid to *the sense* of this House is to be seen in the repetition of a measure but a few months since fully discussed and solemnly condemned by a majority unbought and uninfluenced, the respect paid to the *privileges* of this House is to be collected from the *decent and equitable* use that was made last year of the Escheatorship, and that will no doubt be made of it this year and probably this night, from the respectful manner in which the Sessions was put an end to last year, and from the avowal that has been made this night, that one reason for the extinction of this Parliament is, that individuals in it have been in the habit of censuring the Minister of England and his measures, which imputation by the way is not sustained by the fact. Again Sir, we may feel the respect that is shewn to privileges in the use that is made of the influence of the Crown, and the unbounded patronage of Ministers to overthrow them, in the promises that are made, in the places that are given, in the honours and promotions that are lavished—if it can be called honour and promotion which is acquired by such means—in the removal from office of able and honourable men and in the substitution of men whose sole merit is their zeal for this degrading measure—can these and the other innumerable practices made use of to obtain a majority in favour of an Union be called by any milder epithets than those of bribery and corruption? But, Sir, the means made of to carry the Union are not confined to the Parliament—the whole nation has been practised upon. How have the Sheriffs been appointed?—How have Grand Juries been in many places selected?—How have Addresses been procured?—By what means have some counties been deceived, and others refused the liberty of expressing their opinions in a constitutional manner? What has been the use which has been made of the martial law bill? Or will posterity or even the cotemporary people of Europe believe that Ireland has been called upon to surrender her Constitution, while such a law was in force, and acted upon—a law, the principle of which is better calculated to stifle opinions than to repress crimes, and to promote rather than to correct the depravity of the times. But, Sir, it was seen, that while the parliament and the nation continued of the same opinion, there could be no hope of accomplishing the measure. What was to be then? There was a *fallacious* sense of the people to be set up against the *real* sense of their representatives: and that parliament, which while it was supposed to be corrupt, was asserted to be omnipotent, as soon as it proved itself to be virtuous was appealed from with a strong implication of its incompetence. And to whom was the appeal made? To every man who could be bribed, seduced, intimidated, or punished—in how many instances

stances was there an open, fair appeal made to the free, unbiassed sentiments of any body of people recognized by the law and constitution, as having a right to assemble and declare their opinions upon public events? Well, the signatures, if not the sense of some thousands of people out of some millions, are procured in favour of the Union—with all the industry of Administration, and its emissaries, they have been able to do no more—and how have the great majority of these been procured? By threats and menaces; by terror and false pretences; by forging of names; by spies, hirelings, and calumniators; by dividing the people, setting the landlord against his tenant—the soldier against the citizen—the pastor against his flock—the parent against his child—sect against sect, and principle against principle, by the agency of the placeman and expectant, by the influence of the purse and the sword, of the *civil magistrate* and the *military magistrate*, by promises never intended to be performed, and by promises which if performed, would be the very perfection of political criminality; in this way has an attempt been made to poll the people against the sense of their representatives; upon the foundation of these signatures, I presume it is that the noble Lord says, that the nation is for the Union, and upon such evidence is it, that our most gracious Sovereign, and the English Parliament and People, are induced to believe, that the accomplishment of the measure is only retarded by a faction against the sense of the country—would to God the whole British nation could have the testimony of their own eyes and ears, for the actual condition and sentiments of this country—they would see whether those who oppose, or those who support the Union are the best friends to the Constitution, the liberty, and the tranquillity even of their own country—Sir, there is one class of men, who, I do not hesitate to say, have contributed even as much as Ministers, to diffuse the fallacious opinion in England, that this country will be satisfied with an Union, I mean the Absentees, and acting upon that impression, we find their agents making the greatest efforts to obtain signatures in favour of it on their estates, and what have been the means in many instances practised on these estates? to refuse leases to those who have none, to threaten to call for the rent to the hour; to hold the terrors of an ejection over him who hesitates to sign, or if he cannot write, to lend his name to resolutions calling for the surrender of that which is the security of his property—of his liberty—of his life—Sir, I know of nothing which strikes me as more dangerous, than this plan of individual signatures—it is a perfectly republican or rather revolutionary proceeding, and seems to me to have no principle in our Constitution, nor any precedent in our history to justify it—Buonaparte has indeed lately given us an example of it—he opened his register for acceptance and non-acceptance of his new

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Constitution, and he sent it to the departments for *the free assent of the people* attended and *most humbly recommended* by the communal agents—the officers of the customs and excise—the tribunal officers—the justices of peace—the troops of the line—and the national guards—I confess, I think Mr. Pitt in his zeal to change the Constitution of Ireland, has not been behind Buonaparte in the means and the instruments by which he recommends his Union to the *free adoption* of the people, nor has there been less of the pomp, and ceremony, and shew of power and dictation used to procure favourable signatures in the one case, than in the other—this principle of individual signing of names is unconstitutional and fallacious in every point of view—the signature (amongst the lower orders) is universally obtained by secret influence, or by false representation—it is not the result of free communication—of full discussion—of uninfluenced judgment—it is unallied to public feeling, and is the low instrument of political intrigue—it was the system of the United Irishmen, but they managed it with more dexterity—they too had their resolutions, and canvassed the country underhand—they too forged names—spread calumnies; and false pretences; threatened, menaced, denounced, and resorted to every low and wicked means, to obtain proselytes to their iniquitous cause; they too had their system of rewards and punishments; their system of corruption and proscription; their system of alarm and delusion; and it is notorious, that many of the most distinguished agents in that foul and atrocious conspiracy, are now actively employed in forwarding the new project against the liberties of Ireland, and have purchased the remission of their crimes, by their zeal to overthrow or undermine the Constitution of their country—these are some of the means and some of the instruments made use of to procure a colourable sanction from the people to force the Union upon us, and this is called the consent of the nation.—If the administration would wish to stamp the character of honesty, honour, or justice upon the proceeding; if they wish that it should be permanent and irrevocable, let them take the sentiments of the people upon it fully, fairly, and in a constitutional manner. Will they suffer county meetings to be called by the Sheriffs, and allow them to be held without intimidation or interruption, and with full notice? Will they repeal the martial law bill, the existence of which is incompatible with free political deliberation? Or will they call a Parliament elected by the nation after the measure has been promulgated, and when every member may have express or implied authority from his constituents to decide upon it? If they do, the validity of the treaty can never afterwards be questioned—if they do not, it never can be secure. Sir, the attempt to separate the people from their Representatives, is no inconsiderable part of the iniquity which characterizes this proceeding,

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but the wickedness is pre-eminent which would set the people against each other—for what purpose is it that the Catholics have been encouraged to lay aside all confidence in that Parliament, to which they owe all their immunities which they at present enjoy, and to which alone they can look for their continuation or extension; to what end is it that promises are made to them which cannot be ever fulfilled? and, wherefore is it held out as a bonus for them to defer the interests of the country upon this great question, that they are to be admitted *pari passu* with the Protestants into the United Parliament, or I might call it the Parliament of Great Britain, for to all intents and purposes it would still be so? As a proof that such promises have been almost made in direct terms, I refer to the pamphlet first written on the subject of the Union last year, and circulated with so much industry. As a proof that a participation of the privilege of sitting in the United Parliament has been most frequently and artfully insinuated, I refer to the speech of Mr. Pitt, upon laying the resolutions for the Union before the English House of Commons, where speaking of the “full concessions” which are necessary to satisfy the Catholics, he says, “How soon or how late it may be proper to discuss the nature and propriety of those concessions, must depend upon two circumstances—First, when the conduct of the Catholics shall be such as to make it safe for the Government to admit them to a participation of the privileges granted to those of the Established Church, and when the temper of the times shall be favourable to the measure; when these events take place, it is obvious that such a question may be agitated in the United Parliaments with much greater safety, which might endanger the security and shake the Government of Ireland in its separate state.”—I believe no man will dispute with me that the most important of the “full concessions” which Mr. Pitt means is the privilege of sitting in Parliament, and if any man wishes to know how far the same gentleman thinks the admission of persons into the English Senate, professing any other than the established religion, is either unconstitutional or practicable, he will find his sentiments recorded in the debates on the motions for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. If it wanted any additional authority to shew that Catholics, even those residing in England, can never be admitted into the Parliament of that country, consistently with the Law and Constitution, I would quote that of a noble and learned Lord, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who on the motion made by Lord Moira, in the House of Lords of Ireland the 19th of February, 1798, is said to have used these words: (I cite them from an edition printed by authority) “Upon the subject of emancipation will the noble Lord allow me to make a very earnest request of him? and if he will indulge me in it, I

“ shall

" shall really acknowledge myself deeply indebted to him.—Will
 " the noble Lord have the goodness on his return to England to
 " oblige me by proposing a repeal of the Test and Corporation
 " Laws, and the Act of Supremacy, in the British House of
 " Lords. I am pretty confident the noble Lord will not grant
 " me this request, and he will not grant it because he knows that
 " if he were to make such a proposition there, he would soon
 " learn that it is treason to the British Constitution: he would
 " there be taught to know that the House of Stewart was ex-
 " pelled the British throne for a similar attempt, and that any
 " man who should dare to propose such a repeal in the British
 " Parliament, did, by the proposition, condemn the title of
 " the illustrious house of our Monarch to the British throne.
 " If the noble Lord were to talk of repealing the Test Laws
 " and the Act of Supremacy in Great Britain by way of concilia-
 " tion, he would be told that he retailed the fulsome cant of
 " James's memorable declaration for liberty of conscience, and I
 " wish the noble Lord to read that famous proclamation, in
 " which he will find the stale and flimsy pretext of conciliating
 " and uniting men of all religious persuasions, in support of Go-
 " vernment and the Constitution, held out to the people of Eng-
 " land by that deluded bigot, to reconcile them to the introduc-
 " tion of Papists in both Houses of Parliament, and into the
 " efficient offices of the State, civil and military." And yet the
 " Catholics are now to be deluded to assist in the destruction of the
 " Parliament of their own country, under the deceitful expectation
 " of acquiring the privilege of sitting in the Parliament of ano-
 " ther, and so far has the deception hitherto succeeded, that many
 " of them in their resolutions for an Union, have made the acqui-
 " sition of that privilege the very condition upon which they support
 " the measure; and in particular the Catholics of Waterford have
 " almost in express terms urged their hope of attaining further ad-
 " vantages from the United Parliament, and yet it is well worthy
 " of observation, that in no one of the official answers to addres-
 " ses where such a demand has been made, or insinuated, has been
 " there a single word said upon the subject.—But perhaps the noble
 " Lord will now put an end to all ambiguity and doubt upon the
 " Catholic subject.—Are they to be admitted into the British Par-
 " liament or not, in case of an Union? Has the noble Lord au-
 " thority to say they will? If they support his Union, will he
 " make their emancipation, as it is called, part of the treaty? Will
 " he now engage before this Parliament, that the Catholics of Ire-
 " land shall be admitted into the United Legislature? Or can he
 " engage for that which I have shewn would be considered as treason
 " against the British Constitution? He cannot make such an engage-
 " ment; his silence shews he cannot. Will the Catholics now see
 " that their only hope is in their own native parliament, and that
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the pretence of emancipation in that of Great Britain, is but a stalking-horse to deceive them, and a mask to conceal the conspiracy which is formed against the liberties of the whole people of Ireland? These, Sir, are an enumeration of some of the means that have been employed to facilitate the projected Union, and who that hears them, and feels for his country, but must exclaim with the Roman orator—*Dii immortales ubinam gentium sumus? quam rempublicam habemus? in qua urbe vivimus? hic, hic, sunt in nostro numero patres conscripti; in hoc orbis terra sanctissimo gravissimoque concilio, qui de meo nostrumque omnium interitu, qui de hujus urbis, atque adeo orbis terrarum exitio cogitant.* We are told, Sir, that this Union will bring great advantages to Ireland—English habits, wealth, industry, commerce, and consequent prosperity are to flow from it—the Hon. Bart. who moved the amendment, has shewn with great perspicuity, that the benefits to be expected are at best but problematical, whereas the losses to be incurred are little short of certain.—Did we obtain our present advantages by being subject to the English Legislature? Does not the history of our country prove that our depression and misery have been in proportion to the ascendancy of the British Parliament over us, and that our prosperity and wealth have increased beyond all example since the period of our emancipation from the pressure of its supremacy and controul.—What security can any earthly contract give us that in the new state of things the Parliament of England will be more liberal to us than it was before 1782?—Will that Parliament which was, if not cruel, at least unkind to us, when its authority was but remote and incomplete, be more mild and merciful when we shall be bound hand and foot, and enchained at her feet?—does power ameliorate the heart of man?—Or are nations less mercenary, less selfish, less tyrannical, than individuals, when they have the means and the opportunity of being so?—I know there are some who think that by this measure we shall secure the quiet of the country; does any man think that such a nation as this, will be contented without its resident Parliament?—without a just representation in the United Senate—without a Gentry—without its Liberty—with increased burthens, and decreased ability to bear them—with diminished population, and amplified sources of discontent—with a deserted capital, and an uninhabited country—will this order of things bring us internal quiet? Yes—the quiet of enforced submission—the repose of slavery—the tranquillity of death—the peace of the grave—when no voice shall be raised to vindicate the wrongs of Ireland—when no arm shall be left to struggle against oppression—when the pride, and the energies, and the People of this island, shall have been buried under the ruins of the Constitution. I must, however, say, Sir, that though the advantages of the proposed Union, are not visible

to my intellect, the disadvantages of it are most manifestly obvious—the detail of the calamities which such a system would entail upon our country, has been so often made, that I shall not now dwell upon them; it is enough for me to say what I am satisfied would be the result—that the Union would be, in the first place, destructive of the Constitution, which is the birth-right of the Irish People, and in the next place, subversive of the popular balance of the English Government, which is the security of English Liberty—that it would destroy one Parliament, but to corrupt the other—that Ireland would be governed by the sword—and England become the victim of her own usurpation—and that while the empire, instead of acquiring strength, would contract weakness by such a revolution; the spirit, the nerves, the bones, the marrow, the heart's-blood, of this our country (to use the words of Mr. Sheridan, speaking of the designs of France upon England) would be exhausted and consumed in maintaining the declining glory of an ungrateful and ungenerous friend. These, Sir, are my sentiments as to the *measure* and the *means*. I see no remaining head of observation, but the *men* who are the instruments of this most disastrous project;—and we have been called upon against the impulse of feeling, and the conclusions of intellect, to give the Noble Lord credit for the wisdom and liberality of his plan—but I beg to know upon what presumption it is, that the Noble Lord is to be considered as understanding the interests of this country, better than any other man—are men possessed of the delusive opinion, that experience is not the compass by which a statesman should steer—or will they persuade themselves (as I presume he has persuaded himself) that there is a ray of divine wisdom, a luminous intuition, given to this young man, to remedy the natural deficiency of youth, and to supply the experience of more adult years—there is, indeed, a certain degree of confidence due from the people to those who are set in authority over them, but carried too far, that confidence may be miserably fatal—are the present Ministry entitled to that confidence—a Ministry composed of men, whose talents do not rise above the regions of mediocrity, who are hostile beyond all example to the longevity of former systems, and blindly devoted to experiment and innovation,—yet equally unfortunate in demonstrating the utility of their new measures, as criminal in the destruction of the old—a Ministry who would reject the assistance of any man of real talents, who would dare to assert the liberty of his country in the cabinet of the Viceroy—a Ministry composed of the shreds and remnants of every faction, and of those undistinguished expletives who were hitherto thought too incapable, or too insincere, or too corrupt to have the confidence of
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any party—a Ministry whose public principles admit as much variety as their personal features, but who are alike however, in the want of ability and knowledge, in their devotion to corruption, and in their hostility to the Constitution. Such is the Ministry, which has boldly avowed its determination to persevere in a measure which is the very summit and perfection of human wickedness, to impose the yoke of slavery upon the neck of a free people—not the slavery of conquest, not the slavery of despotism, not the slavery of aristocratic tyranny, or democratic phrensy, but the worst of all slavery, the slavery of corruption. Sir, I have no hesitation to say, that if they carry the measure under all the circumstances which I have stated and observed upon, it will be a robbery, and not a treaty; an act of constraint and violence, not of compact and volition; a conquest, not a Union—a Union upon such principles, and accomplished by such means, Policy never can require—Justice never can sanctify—Wisdom never can approve—Patriotism never can reconcile—Time never can cement—and Force never can establish—it might be a Union for a few days, a few months; perhaps for a few years; but it would be followed with ages of ill-blood, generations of hostility, centuries of contest and desolation, and misery to this island to all eternity—it would be an Union founded on the violation of public faith, erected on national degradation, equally subversive of the moral, physical, and political fitness of things, and equally odious and abominable in the sight of God and Man.

Sir BOYLE ROCHE professed himself as warm an advocate for it—and declared that it alone was calculated in his mind, to save Ireland, and secure the British Empire,

Sir JOHN PARNELL observed, that the Minister, instead of discussing the proposed Amendment, charged some of the members of the Opposition with having been the promoters of disturbance and of separation from Great Britain. That it was to prevent those disturbances and such separation, that he supported the Amendment.—That being attached to his Sovereign and to the British Connexion, he would oppose all measures tending to alter the Constitution, whether they came from the side of the Minister, or from any other description of them. He desired to know whether discountenancing loyalty, and banishing the landlord from his residence did not remove that controul, which hitherto had suppressed rebellion. That this was the case, he appealed to experience. A nobleman of the first property had already sold his estate, and quit the country, and so great was the quantity of

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money daily sent to England from the measure of an Union, that the course of exchange had been a long time at 15 per cent, notwithstanding there had been a loan to Ireland to the amount of two millions, which must have considerably lowered the exchange, but for the circumstances he had stated. Many of the official characters whom he addressed, had already taken houses in England, and would add to the number of absentees who would drain the country of all its circulating cash.

The Minister asked time for the discussion of the measure, but his real object is only delay, to pursue the same measures he has for some time adopted. He has removed from office every man who took one side of the question, and replaced them by others of an opposite opinion. Any person who supposes such conduct has been adopted in order to influence their conduct as members of Parliament, will withhold from him the delay which he solicits. He did not censure him for his removing men in high situation from office, but when those filling the lower situations are dismissed, no one can doubt the tendency of such measures; that it was owing to such means that the Minister ventured to act in defiance of the sense of Parliament. That he had brought forward the measure by misrepresenting the sense of the people, experience had proved; that he had been deceived as to the sense of Parliament in the former year: that by mistaking the sense of the people at this time, he favoured revolutionary measures and endangered the state. When the Constitution of this Country, as settled in the year 1782, is to be subverted, we were told that the acts of Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland ratifying such settlement were not final, that without entering into the nicety of legal distinction, questioning the power of altering any thing however sacred and established, he would assert, that when the settlement was in the nature of a treaty ought to be binding, and more especially on the existing parties who originally made the contract. Would any one assert the connection between England and Ireland ought not to be final? That Magna Charta ought not to be final? Where policy was connected with good faith, in what light ought those to be considered who wish to dissolve the contract?

We were told that the Country was to be benefited by English settlers.—Were the people of that country likely to desert the supremacy which they wished to possess, in order to reside in a humiliated and degraded country?—That he did not expect to be able to remain in a country to be a witness of the ruin to which he himself had not contributed.—That he would not haunt the grave of departed Liberty.—That he trusted to the spirit of the House, and to the justice of Great Britain, that a measure would not be
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persevered in which threatened the Prosperity, the Connexions, and the Constitutions of Great Britain and Ireland.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIRE said, the noble Lord will not be abandoned by his friends; as a Right Hon. Gentleman, (Sir John Parnell) who spoke last, seems to predict. No man who knows that noble Lord will believe it possible he could be guilty of a conduct so mean and degenerate as to abandon a measure of such vital concern to the existence of the Empire, because in truth certain Gentlemen should choose to set their faces against it; but supposing such a thing were in the reach of possibility to happen, he felt no hesitation in declaring, that he should readily walk across the House, and join any Hon. Gentleman in any scheme of mischief they should think proper to devise. He wished to call the attention of the House to the question which was immediately before them: The Union itself could not be that question, because it was impossible to decide upon the merits of a subject as yet perfectly unknown to the House. The object of debate was this, and no other, whether you would instantly and irrevocably decide upon a measure which went to fix the fate of the Kingdom for ever, perfectly ignorant of every information upon the subject, or wait till the Monday fortnight, when the noble Lord had promised to lay upon your table in the name of the King, documents of indispensable importance, together with the entire detail of every circumstance connected with it, and whether it would not be reasonable to have some knowledge of what was to be proposed previously to your disposing of it for ever? He expressed strong displeasure at the very indecent language made use of by some Gentlemen supporting the Amendment: every man must see that their intention was to preclude the House from deliberating on a matter of such deep concern to the Empire at large, and to this Kingdom in particular; a measure recommended by the King—approved by both Houses of Parliament in England—by the Lords of Ireland—by nineteen counties out of thirty-two—in a word, by an infinite majority of the wise and wealthy—of the loyal and the good people of this Realm; yet, Gentlemen, with indecent haste, and more indecent demeanor, endeavoured to prevent even the possibility of consideration.—The noble Lord in the last session declared he would not bring forward this very great business, until the nation should have time to weigh and examine it; and until they should call for its accomplishment. The people had considered it—a large majority of them had called for it—and the noble Lord had in an open manly way given notice of the day on which it should be discussed, and for a call of the House

on that day, that it might have the fullest consideration. He observed that the very Gentlemen who were now so eager to agitate the question, and who complain that it was not mentioned in the speech, would have been the most forward in condemning the Minister for attempting the very thing they themselves were now endeavouring to do. He then went at some length into the arguments which had been used by many Gentlemen against the measure, condemning in pointed terms the indecorous and unwarrantable warmth with which so many persons had affected to speak; but it had neither surprised nor intimidated him; he did beg leave to assure the House, and he confessed he had a difficulty to decide to whom the palm should be given,—which was most likely to effect a consummate mischief upon the public mind,—the speeches of some of the Hon. Gent. he had heard that night, or the resolutions of the Guild of Merchants just then put into his hands? People's intentions might be good; he spoke not of what they meant or thought, but of what they did; and though there were in the Corporation of the Guild of Merchants many Gentlemen for whose private characters he had great personal respect, he felt no scruple to declare, that if in consequence of those resolutions any tumult should arise, and a single drop of blood should be spilt in the streets, the men who made those resolutions would be made answerable for what they had done with their heads.—The Right Hon. Member says, if this wicked and degrading project shall ever take effect, no man either of feeling or honour can stay in the kingdom. He says he will himself remove to another country. “Mr. Speaker,” said Sir J. B. “no man will regret more than I shall the loss which society will suffer by the absence of the Rt. Hon. Member; but see in what different lights different men see the same thing;—eighteen months ago I sent my family to England, because I thought there was neither security or peace to be had here—the same reason keeps them now where they are; but should this blessed measure of salvation take effect, should I be so happy to see the Country once completely united together, my best endeavours shall be used to persuade my family to return, because I think it is then they may live here in peace, comfort and security;—it is the distracted state of the Country alone which creates the Absentees, and causes the Emigration.—The people of Ireland, he said, habituated to their wretchedness, might, he did not doubt, be brought to endure their miseries for still a considerable length of time; but it was not so with Great Britain, it would not be possible to suppose she would quietly submit to be chained, and shackled as she had been—her energy crippled, and the exertions of her powers restrained

restrained by the distractions and divisions of this unhappy country, continually requiring such a considerable portion of her force for its internal safety and defence, as might otherwise have been employed so essentially to the general interests and benefit of the Empire.

Mr. DOBBS.—Sir, I rise merely because I will never give a silent vote on this question. But as I have heard no argument from the other side that calls for an answer, I shall reserve what I have to say on this great subject, till the Noble Lord is surrounded by all his forces, and content myself for the present, with giving my decided vote against this Legislative Union.

Dr. BROWNE (College).—Real change of opinion after twelve months reflection, respect for the opinion of no inconsiderable part of the nation, attention to his Majesty's repeated declarations that he thought an Union essential to the interests of the Empire, might be adequate causes of mens now voting to hear the Propositions; indignation at the measures which were pursued after the rejection of the Union last year, not by the Chief Governor, (whose conduct and character I have always admired and revered, and whose coming into this country I consider a blessing to it) but by Parliament, was the especial cause which made me declare both in and out of the House, and write to several of my political friends last summer, that if ever Propositions of Union were brought on again, I would vote to hear what they were, as I thought our situation could scarcely be worse, and any report that place, promise, or inducement of any kind was held out to me to influence my vote, is not only inconsistent with my parliamentary conduct for seventeen years, but absolutely false and groundless. My vote this night leaves me as much at liberty to reject the Propositions *in toto*, i. e. to vote against an Union, as ever it did in my life.

I always as I conceive have left myself unconfined as to considering this important subject, as I conceive every rational man might do; I am sure I always intended to do so, and accordingly at the last general election, being the first interrogated upon the subject, I refused to bind myself, saying that I could not foresee probable cases, but I did not conceive any probable, in which I could be brought to assent to such a measure. My present Colleague being next asked, put the case of preference to an Union with France. I am positive that he first mentioned this as *one* instance, but I do not recollect in the least, nor do I believe that I, or any of the candidates confined himself to that single possible

ble case, and I am sure it is not conformable to the constant modes of thinking and resolutions which I have had upon the subject, nor did I ever hear it asserted that I had limited myself in any such manner till about two hours before the House met, nor ever dream of any person asserting or thinking so; if any words were written down, why were not the candidates furnished with a copy, and if it was so, how happened it, that no person ever reminded me of it? and in pursuance of the same principle, I did positively in Parliament, on the third day of the last session, when an attempt was made to exclude the question for ever, refuse to assent; and if my constituents thought I had bound myself, what occasion to address me on the subject, or why not remind me of this in the address? But for this I have since heard reasons assigned.

Inconsistency of conduct is objected to me on three grounds: 1st, as to what passed at the election, to which I have answered: 2d, as to my vote last year, to which I answer, that my speech at the time shews it was founded upon reasons and arguments adapted only to that time and occasion, except as to the competency of Parliament, on which I had serious doubts which however I conceive must have been unfounded, as not a single man supported me in them. 3d, As to the amendment last year going in perpetuum as much as that of this year, I do not conceive that it does. It was avowed to have that meaning at present. It was not so understood last year by me or by the Parliament, for they distinguished it from the resolution proposed on the third night of the session, to which as being final, they refused to assent, and so did I in express words.

To an Union in the abstract I am no friend; if I ever agreed to it, it would only be as to a lesser evil. I have ever wished to preserve the Constitution of 1782, but I have ever thought that an Union with England was preferable to some situations in which we have been. Not an Union, but Union upon great and comprehensive terms, made acceptable to all and every part of the nation. After the scenes which I beheld in this country during the rebellion, and for some time after, I expressly declared to some very respectable and dignified friends who well remember it, that I thought such an Union under the then existing circumstances, desirable, and I never did at any time shew that heat and fury upon the subject, which other men have done. The disposition of the College in general is against it, but so far from being universal, that nearly half of the governing part of the society favour it. And some of them have said they would never vote for the man who opposed the Union.

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It doth not seem to me a good method of promoting the Union, to persecute every man with calumny and abuse, who says that he thinks we ought to hear what England proposes, even though he rests that opinion merely on his notion of its propriety; if opposition to the Union proceeds from love of the nation I respect it, if from regard to individual power, or personal aggrandizement, I concern not myself about it.

One word to an insinuation not very liberal that I have lived on the bounty of a country, to which I am ungrateful. Both parts of the assertion I deny. The Fellow of a College who obtains his situation by hard labour and industry, purchases it, and no more lives on bounty than the lawyer or the rector. I am not so humble as to think that I could not obtain a competency in any country, nor did I come into this without one. Seventeen years disinterested service have not been ingratitude, though in some quarters they have met with it.

I should be more affected by this kind of attack, if it did not proceed from a gentleman notoriously a candidate for the College, who communicates with those of my constituents whose great industry is to supplant me.

Had I seen, after the rejection of the Union last year, any measures brought forward to conciliate the people, or to heal the distractions of the country; had I seen any reviviscence of that spirit which produced the Constitution of 1782, coming forward to preserve it, I should not have listened to proposals of Union, nor would you have again heard its name. But for Gentlemen to suppose that if Parliament doth not support itself, it can be supported; to suppose that without domestic virtue, the nation will trouble itself about its existence, is absurd. The truth is, apathy has gone through the nation upon the subject; the thing is evident;—in 1782, the idea of a Union could not have been brought forward; in 1785, it could not have been brought forward; why can it now? Because then the Parliament had the warm affections of the Nation, and now it has not.

This language from me at least is not inconsistent; I have never said with one side of the House, and at one time, that the Parliament was the most virtuous, at another time the most vitious Assembly upon earth; nor with the other after abusing it during my Parliamentary life, held it up as a paragon of virtue; I have never been ready at one time to hang my friend, or pull down his picture, at another to hold him up as a Being from Heaven. My mind is more equable, and I have ever said, that if there was not renovation in the Parliament, it must perish.

The method of preventing Union, was not by Rebellion, nor by Orange systems: nor by looking for Republics, nor by holding up every man as a Rebel, who disapproved of particular measures;

it would have been by regular obedience to the laws, and constitutional parliamentary opposition to any measures.

The measures of last session to which I have alluded particularly, are the Rebellion Bill and the Fitzgerald Bill. The first, which I know was rather forced upon the Government than sought for by it, and which therefore is not imputable to the executive power, enables any petty officer to take up any person on the vague charge of assisting the rebellion on his mere suspicion, founded on any foolish word or indiscreet trifling action, try him, and execute him, without the possibility of appeal to any other tribunal. This law still exists—why do we not feel it—why do we not know it—why are we ignorant that we live under such power? because the wisdom, the prudence, the temper, the humanity, the goodness of the Chief Governor prevent it; but can I forget that we live under such law; can I forget that the Parliament, while it contended against the ademption of its rights, voluntarily relinquished them all, or that to-morrow a hot, or impudent, or weak successor might make us feel this unbounded power in its excess?

The other which I call the Fitzgerald Bill, made for a particular instance, has, as it was thought it would, screened the greatest outrage upon private innocence that ever was known.—Give me leave to say to my certain knowledge no measure ever so much promoted the Union; nor made so many converts among the dispassionate viewers of our conduct in England; and of that country give me leave to say, the abuse upon this occasion neither tends to peace, nor is true; for I have found in it, and so I said a year ago to my Constituents, more coolness, more kind disposition to Ireland than among the sons of Ireland, and to represent it as always hostile to us evidently tends to separation.

Let me know, before I reject Union, what is to follow;—is it the old system, is it the colonial system, are we to see the Chief Governor with all his might, holding in the reins of Government to prevent absurd fury from plunging it again in scenes of blood and horror, which I do verily and in my conscience believe it would be at this moment, were it not for his prudence, wisdom, and temper? On the other hand, let me wait to hear what are the terms of the Union: Is the Church of Ireland sufficiently protected? That being done, are all safe privileges given to all other his Majesty's subjects? If the City of Dublin is injured, are any measures taken to make it compensation? If the Poor and Peasantry of Ireland are to be injured by increase of Absentees, is any additional provision made for them? Let me hear all this, and then determine, but not determine madly and unhearing. Doth the contrary conduct favour of private views, or public affections? For my part, I will use my judgment coolly, regardless of abuse, if I justify myself to rational and dispassionate men.

Mr,

Mr. PLUNKET said, Sir—I have no right to sit in judgment on the motives of the Hon. Member who has just sat down, (Mr. Browne of College), the secrets of his heart and the springs of his conduct, must be left to the great searcher of hearts; but by his public actions his public character is to be judged, and on those I will beg leave freely to comment. He has stated his reason for refusing to concur in the amendment of the Hon. Baronet to be, that it would pledge him irretrievably against the measure of a Legislative Union—how would that concurrence pledge him more solemnly, than the amendment of the last session, proposed by my Hon. friend (Mr. G. Ponsonby) in which he then concurred; that was a resolution, that we should support our free constitution as finally established in 1782; this is a resolution declaring that we are in possession of that constitution, and that it is the wish and interest of his Majesty's Irish subjects, to remain in possession of that constitution, and in the state of union and amity with Great Britain which we now enjoy: what has happened to change the sentiments of the Hon. Gentleman? I have heard that when he was elected to the dignified situation which he now fills, representative of the University of Dublin, he declared to his constituents that only one possible event could make him harbour the idea of an Union, and that was, to save this country from a separation, (the treasury bench cried “hear, hear.”) I am glad the new friends of the Hon. Gentleman have found an excuse for him, which he did not suggest for himself—if they do not furnish him with an argument, they must relieve him from an anxiety—he was much alarmed, because he knew his opinions would be unpalatable to both sides of the House; whatever sentiments they may have excited amongst us, they certainly have been received with acclamation by the Minister. The Hon. Gentleman departs from the pledge which he entered into to his constituents, not because he apprehends any separation between the countries, but because so much corruption has taken place in Parliament, in the course of the last session, and so many bad laws have been passed, that he really feels the constitution not worth preserving—will the Hon. Gentleman recollect, that in the last session he not only declared against the measure, but argued with much ability, that Parliament was incompetent to adopt it—what has done away their incompetence? Their corruption—he then believed them incapable of sanctioning this measure, and he now rises to pronounce a libel on the Parliament, and on the strength of their iniquities, for which he arraigns them; he declares them armed with authority to dispose of the liberties of Ireland, not of his country—I rejoice that he has no claim to the name of Irishman—he has been raised into station by the bounty of the country, and he shews his gratitude by conspiring for the destruction of her liberties—so much for the Hon. Gentleman—to the comfort of his own reflections, and to the gratitude of his constituents, I con-

sign him. But whilst I express an honest indignation against those who have left our cause, and whilst I turn back to shed a tear of regret over the tomb of an honorable and honest man who is now no more (I mean Colonel O'Donnell, the late member for Donegal,) I must congratulate the relations of that gallant man, that a phoenix has risen from his ashes---I must congratulate the country on that splendid blaze of eloquence with which his successor has this night delighted and illuminated the House.

Sir, I feel no ordinary sensation on this question being again introduced to the consideration of Parliament---it was ushered into the last Parliament with the same boyish boasting, which now accompanies it, and rejected with the same contumely, which ultimately awaits it---without any change in the circumstances of the country, without the production of any new argument, the same men who fled like detected thieves at the close of the last session, and who, in the precipitance of their flight, stumbled over, and overturned all public decency and Parliamentary decorum, now exhibit themselves to challenge the national observation, and to brand with the name of faction, every man who has honesty and courage to spurn their degrading purposes---what change has taken place? Has the measure changed its nature, or the Minister his objects, or the countries their relations? no: you shall know the changes which have taken place---I will unmask the men who have dared to come into the midst of Parliament and people to pamper their liberties by sordid bribery, and to subdue their spirits by lawless force; and, if I cannot excite the feelings of honor or virtue in their hearts, I will call the blooming blush of shame into their cheeks.

You are told with puny sophistry, that you ought at least to discuss the question---what is meant by this? That you should discuss the principle---you have already done so---no principle ever underwent a more ample discussion in Parliament, and after examining it for two entire days in all its relations, and after supposing all the details the most favourable, which possibly could be offered to Ireland, the principle was rejected by a majority not only free from any influence, but resisting every influence. If by discussion is meant that we should discuss the detail without examining the principle, I utterly refuse it---we now stand on the high ground of national independence secured by solemn compact, and we are called on to declare our readiness to surrender that independence, and relinquish that compact for the purpose of treating about, we know not what possible advantages, and this is called discussion: In answer to this demand, I say, first, you have not stated any one definite advantage which Ireland can gain, or evil which she can avoid to induce her to relinquish guaranteed independence. The measure has now been agitated above a year, and we have not to this hour heard stated in definite terms, such as a plain understanding can comprehend, any

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one specific advantage, which we are to gain, or any one evil which we are to escape, by its adoption; we have heard a deal of lofty language---increased resources and consolidated strength---wealth and morals of England imported---present benefits from England secured---possible evils deprecated---corruption of our own Parliament destroyed---to be made partakers with the most dignified assembly in the world---danger of separation to be avoided---and political and religious differences closed for ever. This all sounds magnificently; but analyze it, and where a definite meaning can be extracted, no man pretends to say how an Union can forward the thing meant.--- Again, I will not admit the principle, because it is a barter of liberty for money, even supposing your advantages as real as they are visionary. The nation which enters into such a traffick is befuddled. Freedom is the parent of Wealth, and it is an act of parricide to sacrifice the Constitution which generates and nourishes your commerce, for the supposed improvement of that commerce. This is, indeed, under all its circumstances, the most extravagant demand ever made by one nation from another. Ireland, a happy little island, with a population of between 4 and 5 millions of people---hardy, gallant, and enthusiastic---possessed of all the means of civilization---agriculture and commerce well pursued and understood---laws well arranged and administered---a Constitution fully recognised and established, her revenues, her trade, her manufactures thriving beyond the hope or example of any other country of her extent, within these few years advancing with a rapidity astonishing even to herself; not complaining of her deficiency in any of these respects, but enjoying and acknowledging her prosperity, is called on to surrender them all to the controul of whom? To a great and powerful continent, to whom nature intended her as an appendage? To a mighty people, totally exceeding her in all calculation of territory and population? No, but to another happy little island placed beside her in the bosom of the Atlantic, of little more than double her territory and population, and possessing resources not nearly so superior to her wants, and this too, an island, which has grown great and prosperous, and happy, by the very same advantages which Ireland enjoys, a free and independent constitution, and the protection of a domestic superintendant Parliament. The wealth and power and dignity of Great Britain, (in which no man rejoices more sincerely than I do) are the most irresistible arguments against an Union---a little clod of earth by the enjoyment of freedom, has generated strength and wealth, and majesty; she has reared her head above the waters, and has dictated to the unwieldy lethargic despotisms, and to the unripened, servile dependencies of Europe.

And does she therefore call upon to Ireland to cast from her her constitution, and to resign the same never failing means to the
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the same ends? No. I must take leave to consider the example of Britain more persuasive and more disinterested than her advice. Further, we are called on by this sister island not to connect ourselves in alliance with her; we have already done so in the most indissoluble way; the Crown of Ireland necessarily annexed to the Crown of England, and the responsibility of the British Minister as a pledge for their continuance; not like Scotland, where the Crowns were accidentally united in the person of the reigning Monarch, and where the Parliament had proceeded to sever that solitary bond of connexion; not like Scotland, where a Jacobite Parliament had proposed to appoint a King, not only different from the King of England, but actually claiming title to the English throne against the lawful Monarch; not like Scotland, thus put into a state of war with England, with her shores blockaded, and her trade interdicted, but with full and perfect alliance, founded on unity of Executive, unity of interest, and similarity of Constitution; and all of them not only uninvaded by, but uniformly strengthened and secured by, the Parliament of Ireland.

Again, Sir: I will not admit the principle of Union, because we are not only called on to abandon our tried prosperity, and the free Constitution which gave birth to it, and without any necessity for so doing, or any specific advantage to be derived; but we are called on to do so, on the faith of compact, and by the very persons, who, on making the demand, violate the most solemn of a possible compacts, I mean that of 1782---The Minister acts consistently in arranging that settlement---it is at variance with all his plans, and in contradiction to all his sentiments---That settlement acknowledged the independence of the Irish Parliament on this sound principle, "That the two countries were united by sameness of interest, and similarity of Constitution; that the strength and security of the one, mutually affected the other; that they stand and fall together." You now avow to us, that we have no sameness of interest; that we never had and never can have the British Constitution; that there are no principles of Union in our connexion; that the elements of hostility are essentially intermixed with it; that our weakness is your strength; that our subjugation is your safety, and that you cannot stand, unless we fall, and are trampled on; consistently therefore do you arraign that settlement, and candidly do you tell us, that it was no compact, but a delusion; that on our part it was an arrogant claim, taking advantage of the weakness and distress of Great Britain; and that on your part it was a political finesse, humouring our childish insolence, yielding to our accidental strength, and that you will resume in the hour of force what you granted in the hour of feebleness---Act your part in its full extent---resume it---but do not resort to the mockery of calling on us to relinquish, what you tell us we have no right to retain. Do not insult us
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by offering compact when you avow that no compact can bind, do not hold out to us the taunting pledge of faith and sincerity. when you boast of your total want of faith and sincerity in the compact of 1782. It is not merely by your licenced scribblers that the fraud of 1782 has been stated,---posterity will scarcely believe the page of History, when they see it recorded by the British Minister. In 1782, you pledged the royal word, you pledged the solemn honor of the Parliaments of both countries, you called on Almighty God to witness the truth and sincerity of that final adjustment, and you now call on us, by the pledge of the same royal faith, by the authority of the same Parliament, and under the same religious sanction, to enter into a new treaty whose basis must be the violation of the former one,---who is to guarantee it? If by your own authority you claim a right to violate a compact made amongst equals, and you call on us not to contract with but to surrender to the same persons who have overturned it. If that treaty is not binding on you whilst we are both alive and strong and able to support our mutual pretensions, will this treaty of 1800 be binding when we are extinct by the terms of it, and you survive alone to expound and to enforce it.---Call down whatever sanction of King or Parliament or God on your new contract, and how will it be treated 20 years hence in an Imperial Parliament? If they wish to extinguish your 100 Representatives, and make you a province in form as well as substance, may they not then with some colour say, "we told you in 1800 that you had no Constitution---your pretended compact you then gave up, we admitted you to our Parliament by courtesy and for a time, and we now at our will and pleasure dismiss you from it." Would that act of 1820 be so shameless a violation of the articles of 1800, as these articles of 1800 would be of the compact of 1782?

I say therefore I will not quit the 'vantage ground of freedom and compact to admit the principle of an Union.

But it is said that we press the discussion---that no mention of Union has been made in the Speech, and that it is unbecoming in us to urge the rejection of a measure which has not been announced.---Sir, this is very idle talk---if Gentlemen do not feel a due respect for themselves, they should at least have some for the Representative of Majesty---is it not more than ludicrous that the Lord Lieutenant should at the close of the last session propose the measure of Union, when Parliament could not answer him, and that he should be utterly silent on it at the commencement of this session, when Parliament is ready to answer him? You well know the reason of this inconsistency---you wait to have your troops recruited---you do something more than conjecture how those Members mean to vote whose seats have been vacated since the last session of Parliament---this trick is of a piece with the rest, and
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the conduct of the measure from first to last is the true expositor of its merits---may I be indulged in taking a very short review of it?---it is admitted by the Minister, that the alledged necessity of Union flows merely from the Constitution of 1782---from Henry the Second until that time Great Britain never suggested the idea---it then was suggested, not as a measure to be grafted on the Constitution of 1782, but as a substitute for it---it was found that no man could be hardy enough to utter the sentiment in this country, and it was abandoned---you thereupon acknowledged our independent Constitution, and said that all grounds of constitutional disagreement between the two countries were thereby forever precluded: and yet you now tell us, that thereby, and thereby only, they were created. In 1785, commercial differences arose---there were long negotiations between the two countries, yet the name of Union never hinted at---they broke off---still Union never hinted at---at a later period they are renewed and settled, and still Union never hinted at---in 1789 the question of Regency arose, and Union never hinted at---And it is worthy of remark, that at those latter periods both countries were in profound peace, foreign and domestic, and nothing existed to prevent the fair sense of every man in this kingdom, in or out of Parliament, being had upon the subject---at last, in 1795, we see the measure peeping out of the British Cabinet, and the propriety of its adoption mentioned as the reason for dashing the hope which had been held out to the Catholic. The admission of the Catholic, says Lord Carlisle, would deprive the empire of advantages greater than any which she has derived since the Revolution, at least since the Union! And it is to be observed, that the Catholic claim is rejected, in order to enable the Minister to effect Union, and not Union adopted for the purpose of rejecting the claim. Still, however, the scheme is not avowed to Parliament or People; we only discover it by the accidental disclosure of a ministerial correspondence. During the administration of Lord Camden, of whom I wish to speak with every degree of personal respect, a system was adopted, certainly not calculated to soften religious animosities, or to endear the Parliament to the Irish People. I do not mean to comment on the propriety of those measures, but when I reflect that the British Minister had hatched the plan of Union before they were adopted, and when I see the supposed alienation of people from Parliament in consequence of those measures, and the religious and political animosities excited by them, used as the instruments for effecting that plan, I cannot divest my mind of the suspicion, that the plan was adopted to effect the purpose. During the administration of that Nobleman the most extensive, deep-laid, well-planned, and wicked conspiracy that ever nation escaped from, was hatched, matured, and prepared to burst upon the country. It was detected in all its parts, and published in all its details, and the energies of the nation
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called out to resist it, by the vigilance, information, and resources of a resident, superintending Irish Parliament. If this wicked plot of Union had then been effected, and our Parliament at Westminster, every vestige of British connexion would have been swept off the face of the land.---Well, Sir, this Rebellion burst on the public with hideous and unexampled atrocity, and it was substantially put down by the resident, loyal men of Ireland---by native valour and native honour, before any reinforcement had arrived from Great Britain---and it is, because the connexion has been preserved by the wisdom of the resident Parliament, and by the valour and loyalty of the resident Gentlemen of Ireland, that you now propose to banish both.---In the summer of 1798, Lord Cornwallis arrived in this country, a man of high character and great military fame, not for the purpose of repelling invasion, not for the purpose of subduing rebellion, but to apply all his character and all his powers to the achievement of a political purpose. I will not dwell on the glories of a military campaign---I mean him no personal disrespect---but this I must observe, that, whilst the military Lord Lieutenant was in the field with an army of 60,000 men to support him, history will have it to record, that we are indebted to a gallant Irishman, (Mr. Vereker) at the head of about 800 native troops, for having withstood the enemy, and prevented the capital of Ireland from being entered in triumph by a body of not one thousand Frenchmen. I do not wish to enquire too minutely, why the embers of an extinguished rebellion have been so long suffered to exist---I do not wish to derogate from the praise to which the Noble Lord may be entitled for his clemency; its very excesses, if they do claim praise, are at least entitled to indulgence---but when I see that all the rays of mercy and forbearance are reserved to gild the brow of the Viceroy, and that all the odium of harshness and severity are flung upon the Parliament---when I see the clemency of the Chief Governor throwing its mantle over the midnight murderer---when I see it holding parley with the armed rebel in the field---and when I see the task of making war against the victim in his grave and the infant in his cradle, thrown by the same Government upon the Parliament, I cannot avoid suspecting that there is something more than the mere mask of human kindness, in the forbearance on the one part, and something more than mere political caution in the severities of the other. But, Sir, this rebellion was subdued by the Parliament and people of Ireland; and before the country had a breathing time, before the loyalist had time to rest from his labours---before the traitor had received his punishment or his pardon, whilst we were all stunned by the stupendous events which had scarcely passed---whilst something little short of horror for all political projects had seized the mind of every man---whilst the ground was yet smoking with the blood of an O'Neill and of a Mountjoy---the wicked conspiracy

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called out to resist it, by the vigilance, information, and resources of a resident, superintending Irish Parliament. If this wicked plot of Union had then been effected, and our Parliament at Westminster, every vestige of British connexion would have been swept off the face of the land,---Well, Sir, this Rebellion burst on the public with hideous and unexampled atrocity, and it was substantially put down by the resident, loyal men of Ireland---by native valour and native honour, before any reinforcement had arrived from Great Britain---and it is, because the connexion has been preserved by the wisdom of the resident Parliament, and by the valour and loyalty of the resident Gentlemen of Ireland; that you now propose to banish both.---In the summer of 1798, Lord Cornwallis arrived in this country, a man of high character and great military fame, not for the purpose of repelling invasion, not for the purpose of subduing rebellion, but to apply all his character and all his powers to the achievement of a political purpose. I will not dwell on the glories of a military campaign---I mean him no personal disrespect---but this I must observe, that, whilst the military Lord Lieutenant was in the field with an army of 60,000 men to support him, history will have it to record, that we are indebted to a gallant Irishman, (Mr. Vereker) at the head of about 800 native troops, for having withstood the enemy, and prevented the capital of Ireland from being entered in triumph by a body of not one thousand Frenchmen. I do not wish to enquire too minutely, why the embers of an extinguished rebellion have been so long suffered to exist---I do not wish to derogate from the praise to which the Noble Lord may be entitled for his clemency; its very excesses, if they do claim praise, are at least entitled to indulgence---but when I see that all the rays of mercy and forbearance are reserved to gild the brow of the Viceroy, and that all the odium of harshness and severity are flung upon the Parliament---when I see the clemency of the Chief Governor throwing its mantle over the midnight murderer---when I see it holding parley with the armed rebel in the field---and when I see the task of making war against the victim in his grave and the infant in his cradle, thrown by the same Government upon the Parliament, I cannot avoid suspecting that there is something more than the mere mask of human kindness, in the forbearance on the one part, and something more than mere political caution in the severities of the other. But, Sir, this rebellion was subdued by the Parliament and people of Ireland; and before the country had a breathing time, before the loyalist had time to rest from his labours---before the traitor had received his punishment or his pardon, whilst we were all stunned by the stupendous events which had scarcely passed---whilst something little short of horror for all political projects had seized the mind of every man---whilst the ground was yet smoking with the blood of an O'Neill and of a Mountjoy---the wicked conspiracy

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was announced which was to rob their country of its liberties, and their minor children of their birth-right.---With a suspended Habeas Corpus Act, with military tribunal in every county, the overwhelming and irretrievable measure of Union was announced for the free, enlightened, and calm discussion of an Irish Parliament, and, with all these engines of terror still suspended over their heads, it is again submitted to them. How was it brought forward?---A hireling of the Castle employed to traduce Parliament and insult the country---hopes held out to the Catholic that that he should be established if he adopted---threats to the Protestant that he should be annihilated if he rejected---the Constitution of 1782 openly treated as a system of force on our part and of compulsion on the part of England, and the right to resume it openly asserted. Whilst this impolitic insult was circulated through the country by the authority of Government, the Lord Lieutenant sent to some of the principal Gentlemen, merely to request their attention to the subject; but at the same time to assure them, that he did not wish it to be carried, unless by the uninfluenced opinion of the wealth, and sense and loyalty of the country. What was the first Parliamentary step?---The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Serjeant turned out of office, because they ventured to declare an opinion against it. The measure then brought forward without hinting at the opinion of the people, but, on the contrary, asserting the full competence of the Parliament to decide without them. An insidious speech prepared by the Minister and delivered from the Throne, affecting to advise merely general strengthening of the Empire, but which the Secretary was compelled to avow meant Union, and Union only---What followed?---The measure was justified by the Noble Secretary on account of the poverty and wretchedness of Ireland, and the necessity of separation flowing from the Constitution of 1782. The principle of influence which had been exerted was justified, and the intention fairly avowed of following it up to the full extent of the prerogative,---the question was discussed for two days in all its relations, the principle examined, and the details supposed the most favourable which possibly could be granted to Ireland; and after that full discussion, in despite of the calamities and terrors of the times, in despite of the surprise with which it was brought on, in despite of the influence exercised and avowed, the preliminary principle was rejected by a majority not only not acting under any corrupt influence, but against all corrupt influence.

I need not remind you of the transport with which that determination was received in every corner of the kingdom; whatever might have been the former errors of Parliament, they were lost in the virtue and splendor of that event. What, Sir, was the consequence? In opposition to the declared sense of Parliament, and known wishes of the People, you were told, by one whom I
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may without offence, call, if not a boy, at least a very young man, "that you were all in error---that you should hereafter implore as a blessing, what you now deprecate as a curse---and that he would never lose sight of, the measure, but would govern you for the purpose;"---I ask, was such language or conduct ever ventured on by a defeated Minister; or would this insolence have been dared, if you had been considered as a free Parliament, or a free people? What was the conduct in Great Britain? Exactly corresponding in contemptuousness, with that of their Minister here; on the very day of the defeat in the Irish Parliament, the Minister of England, confiding in the dark promises of his partizans here, and taking our acquiescence to the surrender of our Constitution as a thing of course, announces the measure to the British Parliament, and gains their ready assent---no reluctance on their part, as when the FREE TRADE was obtained---no reluctance, as, on the repeal of the 6th of George I. or on the renunciation, or on the commercial propositions, which we thought so bad, that we rejected them, although they acceded to them with regret as much too good for us. No, Sir, knowing that Union would make them masters, their ready acquiescence is procured. Well! by the temerity and boasting of a very young man, the Parliament of one country is committed against the other. What is done by the Minister when the disappointment is announced? Is he overwhelmed with shame? Anxious to extricate himself? No; he proceeds with as much composure as if he had our complete assent; he treats us like silly, passionate children, and goes on to adjust the terms. He makes a lofty turgid speech, talks in high sounding-general terms of encreased resources and consolidated strength; a couple of powdered lacquies of epithets waiting upon every substantive. Whatever we may think of the wisdom or justness of the nation, we cannot but admire its fashion and its pomp; and after all this absurd jargon which has been so often exposed, he proceeds to inform the British House, that he is satisfied an enlightened majority must proceed to adopt the measure; and after the great Leviathan has concluded his tumblings, a young whale puts up his nostrils, and spurts his blubber on this country, and tells a British Senate, that when he came over to Ireland to put down the rebellion, he discovered the true character of the country, and that it is best summed up by Swift's verses on the town of Carlow, "High church and low steeple, poor town and proud people;" and all this to the great admiration of the wisest and most liberal assembly in the world. Give me leave, Sir, here to advert to the declaration made in the House of Lords on the same subject by my Lord Auckland, who had been an Irish Secretary in the Administration of Lord Carlisle, and he declares, "that he knows enough of the theatre of action, and of the principal actors on that theatre, to do them the justice to believe, that their resistance will give way to the com-

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manding voice of Reason, and of Truth."—Whoever remembers the administration of that noble Lord in this country, when he was Mr. Eden, would be able to comprehend the full force and delicacy of the strain of irony in which he proves the candour and docility of the Irish Parliament.

On such grounds as these, in defiance of our proceedings, the Crown is addressed, and the Father of his People is made to say, that he will take the first opportunity of laying before his Irish Parliament the same principle in the detail, which they had already rejected in the general. (Here it was said from the Treasury Bench, that his Majesty's expression was not "the first," but a "proper" opportunity). I thank the noble Lord for the correction; we shall see presently in what the propriety of the opportunity consisted. Has the royal word been kept in that respect by the Minister? The resolution passed early in the sessions; the Irish Parliament was adjourned at the request of the noble Lord, for the express purpose of our being apprized of the result of the English deliberations; and yet during the whole course of the session not a word is said upon the subject. The proper opportunity had not arrived; but the noble Lord was certainly not remiss in his to create that propriety; he proceeded to accomplish the predictions of the British Minister, and of himself, to endeavour to corrupt and pack the Parliament, so that an enlightened majority should pass the measure; and so to govern the country, that they should implore Union, or any thing rather than remain as they were; how effectual the latter part of his plan has been you perceive, from the declaration of the Hon. Member, (Doctor Browne) who declares that he is made a proselyte to the measure by the abominable proceedings of the Minister and the Parliament. The Minister in the mean time proceeded to execute his threats of dismissal from office—every man, whether in a confidential situation or not, who dared to express his free opinion, was dismissed, when men would not be bated enough openly to apostatize—their resignation purchased—the place-bill, which had been enacted, to preserve the liberties of the subject, converted into an instrument to oppress them; and no man suffered to vacate his seat, unless he would stipulate an Unionist for his successor. The same Lord Lieutenant who had at first declared his intention to submit the question to the uninfluenced sense of the country, frankly avowed his determination to abuse the prerogative for this scandalous purpose; and the Noble Lord who had declared in full Parliament, that he never would press the measure, even with a majority, against the free sense of Parliament, heard himself publicly branded with his shameful departure from that promise, in the case of Colonel Cole, without having the hardihood to deny it! The British Minister thought this last act too indecent, even for the meridian of Ireland, and the Parliament was the next day prorogued.

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The public will not easily forget that memorable day, when the Usher of the Black Rod was stationed within the doors of the Commons, to watch the instant at which the House assembled. The public will not easily forget the indecent precipitation with which the Message from the Throne was delivered, without allowing time even for the ordinary vote of thanks to you, Sir, for your conduct in that chair. They will not easily forget, not the absence, but the disgraceful flight, of the Minister of the country, to avoid the exposure and the punishment of guilt. When the functions of this House were thus superseded, his Excellency, for the first time, thought proper to inform them of the Resolutions of the British Parliament; and he was further pleased to insinuate, that it would be a great satisfaction to him in his old age, if we would be so good as to adopt this measure of an Incorporating Union. I must for one beg to be excused from making quite so great a sacrifice, from mere personal civility, to any Lord Lieutenant, however respectable he may be. The independence of a nation, I must own, does not appear to me to be exactly that kind of bagatelle, which is to be offered by way of compliment, either to the youth of the Noble Lord who honours us by his presence in this house; or to the old age of the Noble Marquis, who occasionally sheds his setting lustre over the other; to the first, I am disposed to say, in the words of Waller—

“ I pray thee, gentle boy,

“ Press me no more for that slight toy”—

and to the latter, I might apply the language of Lady Constance—

“ That’s a good child—go to its grandam—give grandam kingdom—and its grandam will give it a pumb, a cherry, and a fig—there’s a good grandam”—

I hope, therefore, Sir, I shall not be thought impolite, if I decline the offer of the Constitution of Ireland, either as a garland to adorn the youthful brow of the Secretary, or to be suspended over the pillow of the Viceroy.

Thus ended that never-to-be-forgotten session. What has since been done? During the whole interval between the sessions, the same barefaced system of parliamentary corruption has been pursued—dismissals, promotions, threats, promises—in despite of all this, the Minister feared he could not succeed in Parliament, and he affected to appeal to what he had before despised, the sentiment of the people. When he was confident of a majority, the people were to be heard only through the Constitutional medium of their Representatives; when he was driven out of Parliament, the sense of the People became every thing. Bribes were promised to the Catholic Clergy; bribes were promised to the Presbyterian Clergy—I trust they have been generally spurned with the contempt they merited. The Noble Lord understands but badly the genius of the Religion in which he was educated—you held out hopes to the Catholic Body, which were never intended to be gratified; regardless of the disappointment, and indignation, and eventual rebellion, which you might kindle—regardless of every thing, provided the present paltry
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little object were obtained—in the same breath you held out professions to the Protestant, equally delusive; and having thus prepared the way, the Representative of Majesty set out on his mission, to court his Sovereign, the Majesty of the People. It is painful to dwell on that disgraceful expedition—no place too obscure to be visited—no rank too low to be courted—no threat too vile to be refrained from—the counties not sought to be legally convened by their sheriffs—no attempt to collect the unbiased suffrage of the intelligent and independent part of the community—public addresses sought for from petty villages—and private signatures smuggled from public counties—and how procured? By the influence of absentee landlords; not over the affections, but over the terrors, of their tenantry, by griping agents and revenue officers—and after all this mummery had been exhausted, after the lustre of royalty had been tarnished by this vulgar intercourse with the lowest of the rabble, after every spot had been selected where a paltry address could be procured, and every place avoided, where a manly sentiment could be encountered, after abusing the names of the dead, and forging the signatures of the living, after polling the inhabitant of the gaol and calling out against the parliament the suffrages of those who dare not come in to sign them till they had got their protections in their pocket, after employing the revenue officer to threaten the publican, that he should be marked as a victim, and the agent to terrify the shivering tenant with the prospect of his turf-bog being withheld, if he did not sign your addresses, after employing your military commanders, the uncontrolled arbiters of life and death, to hunt the rabble against the constituted authorities, after squeezing the lowest dregs of a population of near five millions, you obtained about five thousand signatures, three-fourths of whom affixed their names in surprise, terror, or total ignorance of the subject; and after all this canvass of the people, and after all this corruption wasted on the Parliament, and after all your boasting that you must carry the measure by a triumphant majority, you do not dare to announce the subject in the speech from the throne. You talk of respect for our gracious Sovereign—I ask, what can be a more gross disrespect than this tampering with the royal name—pledged to the English Parliament to bring the measure before us at a proper opportunity—holding it out to us at the close of the last session, and not daring to hint it at the beginning of this—Is it not notorious why you do not bring forward the measure now? Because the fruits of your corruption have not yet blossomed, because you did not dare to hazard the debate last session, in order to fill up the vacancies which the places bestowed by you, avowedly for this question, had occasioned, and because you have employed the interval in the same sordid traffic, and because you have a band of disinterested patriots waiting to come in and compleat the enlightened majority, who are to vote away the liberties of Ireland.

Will you dare to act on a majority so obtained? Fatal will be your councils, and disastrous your fate, if you resolve to do so—you have

have adopted the extremes of the despot and the revolutionist, you have invoked the loyal people and parliament of Ireland, who were not calling on you—you have assayed every means to corrupt that parliament if you could to sell their country; you have exhausted the whole patronage of the crown in execution of that system; and to crown all, you openly avow, and it is notoriously a part of your plan, that the Constitution of Ireland is to be purchased for a stipulated sum; I state a fact, for which if untrue, I deserve serious reprehension; I state it as a fact, that you cannot dare to deny, that 15,000*l.* a piece is to be given to certain individuals as the price for their surrendering—What? Their property? No; but the rights of representation of the people of Ireland; and you will then proceed in this, or in an imperial parliament, to lay taxes on the wretched natives of this land to pay the purchase of their own slavery.—It was in the last stage of vice and decrepitude that the Roman Purple was set up for sale, and the sceptre of the world transferred for a stipulated price; but even then the horde of Slaves who were to be ruled, would not have endured that their country itself should have been enslaved to another nation—do not persuade yourselves that a young, gallant, hardy, enthusiastic people like the Irish, are to be enslaved by means so vile, or will submit to injuries so palpable and galling.—From those acts of despotism you plunge into the phrenzy of revolution, at a time when that political madness has desolated the face of the world, when all establishment is staggering under the drunkenness of theory—in this country, which it is said has been peculiarly visited by this pestilence, when even the projects which the noble Lord may recollect to have been entertained by the Northern Whig Club have been necessarily suspended; if not abandoned—when you have found it necessary to enact temporary laws, taking away almost every one of the ordinary privileges of the subjects of a Free Constitution—with the Trial by jury superseded, and the whole country subject to martial law—a law, by which the liberty and life of every man rests merely on the security of military discretion—a law, which you have not yet ventured to repeal, and the necessity of whose continuance is strongly hinted in the Speech from the Throne—with a bloody rebellion only extinguished, and a formidable invasion only escaped—you call on this distracted country to unroof itself of its Constitution, and having been refused by the wisdom and virtue of Parliament, you desire the rabble of every description to array themselves against the constituted authorities, and to put down their Parliament, because they would not put down the Constitution—Are the people of Ireland cured of their phrenzy? Take off their fetters—restore the Habeas Corpus—give back the Trial by Jury—repeal the Martial Law Bill—let the ordinary laws resume their course—are they maniacs, and are they manacled?—do not erect them into law-givers and judges—do not insult them by a mock appeal—do not at the same time trample on them as slaves, and worship them as masters.—These, Sir, are not the times for theory—let us cling to experience—it tells us we can exist with a common King and sepa-

rate Parliaments, because we have done so for ages—and therefore when I see a modern Solon taking to pieces the different parts of our Constitution, like those of a watch, and asking “If you have a common king, would it not be better, *a priori*, to have a common Parliament,” I laugh at his visions.—Will he answer to me that if the people are called on to pull down the Parliamentary part of their Constitution, they will stop precisely there? I ask him further, what is there in his theory of equal value to the proof from experience, that a common King and separate Parliaments produce a good practical system of liberty and connexion? The two Parliaments may clash! So in Great Britain may King and Parliament; but we see they never do so injuriously. There are principles of repulsion! yes; but there are principles of attraction, and from these the enlightened statesman extracts the principle by which the countries are to be harmoniously governed. As soon would I listen to the shallow observer of nature, who should say there is a centrifugal force impressed on our globe, and therefore, lest we should be hurried into the void of space, we ought to rush into the centre to be consumed there—No—I say to this rash arraigner of the dispensations of the Almighty, there are impulses from whose wholesome opposition eternal wisdom has declared the law by which we revolve in our proper sphere, and at our proper distance. So I say to the political visionary, from the opposite forces which you object to—I see the wholesome law of imperial connexion derived—I see the two countries preserving their due distance from each other, generating and imparting heat, and light, and life, and health and vigour, and I will abide by the wisdom and experience of the ages which are past, in preference to the speculations of any modern philosopher. Sir, I warn the Ministers of this country against persevering in their present system—Let them not proceed to offer violence to the settled principles, or to shake the settled loyalty of the country. Let them not persist in the wicked and desperate doctrine which places British connexion in contradiction to Irish freedom—I revere them both—it has been the habit of my life to do so. For the present Constitution I am ready to make any sacrifice—I have proved it. For British Connexion I am ready to lay down my life—my actions have proved it—why have I done so? Because I consider that connexion essential to the freedom of Ireland; do not therefore tear asunder to oppose to each other these principles which are identified in the minds of loyal Irishmen—for me, I do not hesitate to declare, that if the madness of the revolutionist should tell me you must sacrifice British Connexion, I would adhere to that connexion in preference to the independence of my country; but I have as little hesitation in saying, that if the wanton ambition of a Minister should assault the freedom of Ireland and compel me to the alternative, I would fling the connexion to the winds, and I would clasp the independence of my country to my heart—I trust the virtue and wisdom of the Irish Parliament and people will prevent that dreadful alternative from arising—if it should come, be the guilt of it on the heads of those who make it necessary.

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The PRIME SERJEANT rose immediately after Mr. Plunket, and said it would be extreme affectation in him, were he to express any kind of surprise at the rancour and calumny with which he and other friends and servants of Government had been loaded that night; as for himself he had long expected it, being perfectly aware that rancour and calumny were the principal weapons of the faction which opposed the King's Government.— Since then eternal war seemed to be declared on their side, it was high time for him and his friends to examine a little into the pretensions of the enemy; and he hoped he should be excused by the liberality of the House, if, in return for so much clamour and obloquy, he should convey to the faction opposite to him a few truths, though they should happen to be mixed with some little degree of harshness. He should begin by a Learned Gentleman (Mr. Bulhe) who had taken a distinguished part in the debate, and whom another Learned Gent. (Mr. Plunket) had represented as having rode so triumphantly into that House; who, if he could not be said to be the representative of the public suffrage, might fairly be allowed to represent some portion of the property of the country; he was indeed, most peculiarly a public man, and being so, he could not be offended, if he should be made the mark of public observation. That Learned Gentleman had been pleased, with great delicacy and address, to hint his contempt of his (the Prime Serjeant's) pretensions to the office which he held: perhaps his observations were well founded; at least it would ill become him (the Prime Serjeant) to question the estimate of the Learned Member; and indeed were he to form his own estimate, it might not greatly exceed the estimate of the Learned Gentleman—This he knew full well, that his talents were not of sufficient importance to entitle him to the notice of the public, no, nor even to make him the object of a paltry party subscription; humble as he was, and meanly as to be sure he was thought of, for the Learned Member had asserted it, it would answer to him little purpose to drive post through the country like a Manchester dealer, furnishing the houses of certain persons with samples of his pretensions, "will you buy, or will you—if I have the good fortune to meet with your favour, Gentlemen, I shall take care in a short time to be furnished with such an assortment and such a variety of faction, meanness, duplicity, clamour, and want of candour, as cannot fail to be highly gratifying and satisfactory to my generous, my liberal, my disinterested benefactors." Neither his talents nor those of his friends were of sufficient magnitude to be sold in shares like a loan or a lottery; were it not for their natural connexions and the kind partiality of their natural friends, they could never have aspired to the honour of a seat in that House; it was beyond their resources and above their exertions. They could not have owed their share in the

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the representation of the people to carrying about their own mis-box, to practising upon the factious liberality of a junto, and then carrying the produce of their activity to the feet of a needy Borough-monger—that was infinitely beyond them; but were it possible that they could be so far forgetful of what was due to themselves, and he would beg leave to say, to their connections in this country, as to creep into that House by such mean and abject devices, he hoped, at least, they would have modesty and discretion enough left to suit their conduct, and to know their places; to know that their conduct in such a situation ought to be silence, their place the back part of the House; for if with unparalleled effrontery, with unblushing assurance they could presume to mingle their impure opinions, with those of the legitimate Representatives of the kingdom; were their talents equal to those of the first men of the age, and were they as vain of real endowments, as some persons seemed to be of empty, timid declamation, their very appearance on their legs, their very offering themselves to the Chair would be a more cogent and convincing argument in favour of a Legislative Union than the most splendid display of oratory which they could exhibit would be against it. An Union upon any terms, an Union even without terms, would be a more decent alternative for Ireland, than a resident Assembly so tainted, so defiled, by mercenary faction. But he quitted with pleasure, and he trusted he had now done for ever with so low and ignominious a topic. The Prime Serjeant next applied himself to Mr. Plunket, whom he addressed as one who had expressed himself with a great deal of acrimony towards his Majesty's Government; common justice however forbade him to treat the Learned Gentleman as he had treated the Government; on the contrary he acknowledged him to be a man of eminent talents, and he believed him to be the owner of many virtues; he was well informed that the excellence of his understanding had enabled him to overcome the prejudices of his early education, and that at one time, and that at no distant period, he seemed sincerely reconciled to the Constitution of this Country. It was a noble effort in him; he spoke it to his praise: it evinced the soundness of his undertaking and the natural purity of his heart, for there was no task so difficult in nature as that of eradicating the prejudices of early life. He knew also, for he himself was a witness to it, that when this Country was convulsed by Rebellion, that Gentleman took a manly, decided and active part in support of his Sovereign and the Constitution, and at that time no person was louder than he was in reprobation of those who shamefully skulked from their duty and hid their heads upon that trying occasion; his language then was that of open, manly, undisguised contempt and reprobation; and he deserved credit for that language. How came it then, that persons of that description have

were of a sudden purified in the Learned Gentleman's conception, and were become his Hon. Friends? What was it that had plunged him into a coalition with those, against whose conduct and principles, to make use of his own animated language upon a former occasion, like young Hannibal at the altar, he seemed to swear eternal and unalterable war. He would tell the House—he would tell the Learned Member, disappointed ambition had formed that monstrous alliance; and indeed upon this occasion it seemed to have blended together the most heterogeneous and discordant particles. That Learned Gentleman, who had understanding and character sufficient to accomplish the most difficult of all tasks, that of counteracting early prejudices, was not proof against the impulse of disappointed ambition. He knew, and so the fact was, that he stood high in his profession; and he looked with eager certainty to the enjoyment of those honours and emoluments under a resident, perhaps a reformed Parliament, which were not quite so open to the Gentleman under an Imperial Parliament; and therefore disappointed ambition had linked him to the objects of his former reprobation and contempt. He hoped, however, the Learned Gentleman would not take it amiss, if, with great humility, he conveyed to him one admonition; he said before, and the fact was indisputable, that there was no task so difficult as that of eradicating early impressions, and sound and pure as the Learned Gentleman might deem himself, the stamina in him were weak and deficient; and should he persevere in giving way to one indiscreet political motive, he was most peculiarly in danger. The same disappointed ambition which had already thrown him into the arms of the faction he despised, might by degrees restore to his memory his old political principles, and obliterate from it those which he lately assumed, might by degrees, to him imperceptible (for he believed did he perceive it he would resist it)—lead him into the vortex of general disaffection, and might at length plunge him into the Pandemonium of furious Democracy, out of which there would be no redemption for him: no person would lament more than he the misapplication of the Gentleman's talents, or the extinction of his virtues; he could not see that Learned Gentleman running blindfold towards the precipice before him, without warning him of his danger. Let the Learned Gentleman believe him, he was a valetudinarian—and his learned and eminent relation would inform him that valetudinarians ought to be cautious and have a reverend care of their health. And now having said so much upon particulars, he would become more general, and make some observations upon the faction to which those Gentlemen belonged; and some persons had had the temerity, (for in their situations he could call it by no other name)—to charge his Majesty's Government with corruption in carrying forward the measure of an Union.

He should beg leave to contrast the conduct of that Government with the conduct of those who had ventured to bring forward that charge, some of whom had talked that night of proving facts at the Bar; that, it was well-known, was a stage trick to catch the mob; they were dared—they were challenged to do so; the same trick was practised last session by a Learned Gentleman (Mr. M.) who choose to make himself the little hero of the story; but when he was pressed to come forward, the Learned Member shrunk from his own calumny. He would contrast the conduct of Government with that of the Anti-Union Faction; a name he conferred upon them, not only because it coincided perfectly with propriety of language, but also because it served to distinguish them from those highly respectable persons who had hitherto opposed the measure of an Union from a sincere opinion of its impolicy. Those were persons, from whom however he might differ, he should always most highly respect and revere. And as it had been the constant and unremitting effort of the faction to blind, inflame and mislead them, so it should be his humble endeavour to open their eyes to the conduct of those who most presumptuously, and without any fair pretensions whatsoever, have taken the lead of them in this great measure. The constant and unremitting effort of the faction had been the suppression of all discussion—no equivocal symptom, he begged leave to say, of the weakness of their cause, and they resorted to the usual auxiliaries of weakness and a bad cause, namely, sedition, misrepresentation, virulence, and clamour. To begin with Sedition, scarcely had the question been opened to the public mind, and before any valid opinion could possibly be formed of its merits or defects—when it was more than hinted to the Yeomanry to lay down their arms, from whom this inference was best to be collected by the public without being expressed, (for it dared not be expressed) that a federal Union with the French Republic was preferable to the discussion of an Incorporating Union with Great Britain. The country was not to be defended, because Government had the audacity to offer the subject even for discussion.—The next branch of Sedition was the loud and decisive opinion which was echoed every where respecting the incompetency of the Legislature. That was a topic which could not bear the test of reasoning, and indeed if it were necessary, it was most ably refuted by an Hon. and Learned Gentleman, (Mr. Smith) who both in speaking and writing had evinced himself a most able and distinguished supporter of the Measure; he spoke and wrote, and the phantom vanished. Let it not be supposed, however, for a moment, that those who pressed that argument most strongly were the dupes of their own fallacious and inflammatory reasoning. No such thing; but they confidently expected to dupe the public into an opinion of the incompetency

incompetency of its Legislature, and thereby to lay a ground of resistance to the law. If the Measure could not be suppressed by the usual weapons of virulence and clamour, it was to be resisted by blood—and, if his ears did not deceive him, he had heard such an expression made use of in that House. Any Act of Parliament adopting the Measure, was loudly declared to be a nullity, and all the young Hannibals of the kingdom were to be assembled at the age of nine years, round the Altar of Sedition, to swear eternal hatred and immortal opposition to the Measure and the Law. The next branch of Sedition was the very candid, the very grateful, and very liberal declarations which were echoed every where, respecting the character and views of Great Britain and its Troops serving in this country. He did think, that the very name of Great Britain was a name which, at this crisis particularly, would naturally have excited in the mind of every friend to religion, social order, freedom, and good government, the warmest sentiments of attachment and applause, in whatever part of the Globe he might happen to reside; and it was not necessary to be connected with that great country in order to feel that sentiment; but when that sentiment was strengthened by the ties of blood and intimate political connexion, when it was felt, not only as a sentiment, but as a security for every thing valuable which we enjoyed; cold and destitute of every feeling of gratitude, or even of common prudence, must be the heart, and doubtful at least must be the loyalty of that Irishman, who could blend, even in idea, the name of Briton and Foreigner; and yet, the patriotic effusions of Anti-Unionism had constantly rung the changes upon Great Britain's not only being a foreign, but an adverse Nation; upon its Troops, who gallantly volunteered their services, to rescue us from revolution, pillage and massacre, and who really came over to this country, not only to protect our persons and our properties, but also to secure the freedom and independence of our opinions, as being foreign troops, who were sent over here to overawe and to enslave us. But there was a very good and valid reason for this; the transition from the idea of foreign to that of enemy, was natural and easy; he believed there was a language in which one word expressed both ideas, and therefore the Separatist could not miss so fair and lucky an opportunity, and he assumed the disguise of Anti-Unionism, in order to inculcate his favourite principle which he fondly expected would finally overthrow the connexion. So much for Sedition.—The next head was Misrepresentation, of which he had already unavoidably touched in treating of sedition, for misrepresentation and falsehood were the ground-works of sedition. But he now came to those gross and glaring misrepresentations which had not even a fallacy to support them—which could not deceive the most common understanding.

standing, and which had no support whatever, but unblushing, unfeeling confidence. When a great proportion of the Property of the Kingdom came forward with declarations in favour of the Principle of Union, they were immediately described by the Faction as a few paltry, insignificant names, although it was obvious to every man who could read, that they were numerous, and to every man who knew the state of the country, that they were highly important in respect of property and consequence.

Well, that farce was carried on for some time, and then the faction softened a little, and admitted that there were some men of property amongst them: but what of that, said they, the population of Ireland is against the measure, and the voice of the people must prevail; but the rebels are all for the Union. What! the population of Ireland against the measure, and the rebels all for it! Surely, surely, there must be some wonderfully purifying principle in Anti-Unionism. What! of the boasted mass of Irish population, Anti-Unionism does not leave one sculent, one corrupt particle, to taint its own unfulfilled purity! What! not one rebel! Not even a doubtful man! No, no—all staunch active loyalists, who nobly braved all danger, scorned the idea of timidity, spurned at neutrality where their King and their country were in danger;—heretofore indeed the property of the kingdom and the rebels used to appear in opposite directions, but upon this occasion they have formed the most new, unheard of, unexpected coalition in opposition to the interests and prosperity of the kingdom: very well—a great proportion of the trading part of the kingdom, and the respectable land-holders come forward and declare in favour of the measure, and it was curious to observe how the faction becomes ever aristocratical where they think it can answer their purposes; these were immediately proclaimed as low-bred ignorant mechanics, vile stupid peasantry—what should they know? What weight ought their opinion to have upon a public question? besides they were influenced by their landlords, by their employers, by men whose interests and theirs were identified; in short, it was clear that no description of men could attain the good graces of the faction, unless they consented to be influenced by their sedition, and misled by their misrepresentation; every man who respected his own opinion, or the opinion of those whom they ought to look up to and revere, was sure to be branded by them with the foulest calumnies, to be the butt of their rancour, malignity, and slander. Another branch of misrepresentation! the sense of Parliament is against the measure, how much better adapted could this expression be, the nonsense and clamour of the faction; that position depended upon this foundation. The first branch of the Legislature, His Majesty, at least as far as recommendation could go, declared in favour of the principle of the measure; the second branch of the
Legislature,

Legislature, the House of Peers, decided in favour of the measure; the third branch of the Legislature, the House of Commons, when called upon by the faction at the momentous heat of triumph for fancied success, to decide against the principle of the measure, positively refused to do so; the conclusion was obvious and natural, the sense of Parliament was against the measure! A Noble Lord in a few days after makes the same attempt, and meets precisely with the same success; therefore the sense of parliament was against the measure. To such wretched devices was the faction driven in order to effect their purposes: ought His Majesty's Government to irritate them? they had much better ground to go upon in supposing that the sense of Parliament was in favour of the measure. As for himself, as he was not disposed to imitate the faction in any thing, so he should not imitate them in this. The sense of Parliament was in favour of the measure as long as that House withheld its opinion. The Prime Serjeant then begged leave to address some observations to those highly-respectable gentlemen, who had hitherto opposed the measure, from a sincere opinion of its impolicy; in doing which, he begged to be understood not to address them as a party opposed to that which he had espoused, but as a candid and liberal tribunal to which he appealed if he had represented the faction fairly; and assuredly he had not misrepresented them wilfully. Could it be possible that those highly-respectable persons could lend their valuable assistance to such men, and to such means, for the purpose of suppressing all discussion upon that great measure? surely it could not then be said that the public were hurried into the discussion, unless indeed that charge were applicable to the leaders of Opposition. The public mind had time to ponder upon the question; and all the false views, in which clamour, prejudice, and self-interest might have dressed the question on either side, had had time to pass away; and if the public could ever be capable of deciding upon the full subject, they must be capable then. Could those respectable Gentlemen then lend their valuable assistance to further the schemes of men, whom, if he had represented them fairly, it was impossible they could continue to act with? surely they need not then be told, that by refusing to commit themselves against the measure, they were pledged to do nothing, and they could still have the opportunity left of rejection, whether upon the inadequacy of the plan or the impolicy of the time, or any other ground which did not go to eternal suppression? But should they fatally be induced to decide hastily this night against the principles of the measure, they would be driven to the melancholy alternative of suffering all those misfortunes which might, and in his opinion would arise necessarily from the imperfection of the present system, or to the humiliating task of suing for that which they had so hastily rejected,

jected, and perhaps of suing for it at a time when the misfortunes brought on by that very rejection had shaken the empire to its centre, and rendered all remedy totally unavailing. He would beg leave to call their attention to the conduct of his Majesty's Government, stripped of all those false views in which calumny and slander had decked it. When the question was first introduced into Parliament by his Majesty's Government, it was so introduced upon a well-considered opinion of its utility, nay, of its necessity; when, however, that Government discovered that the House of Commons was unwilling to commit itself on either side of the question until the measure was better understood, and the public opinion better ascertained, that Government, relying upon the justice of its cause, did not shrink from investigation, and a whole year had elapsed, during which that question had almost exclusively overspread the public mind; and what had been the result? that a great proportion of the kingdom had from all quarters come forward and declared in favour of the principle of the measure, surely that an opinion so plainly expressed and so strongly supported was at least entitled to this mark of respect and deference from the representatives of the people—that it should at least receive a cool discussion, and should not be hooted by clamour or stifled by faction? He was perfectly convinced that the Gentlemen whom he addressed would act with that real firmness which is always accompanied with a dignified moderation, and that they would not suffer themselves to be the engines of those who had most presumptuously pushed themselves before them, who had endeavoured to identify their factious views with the public interest, and their factious clamours with the public votes—who had confidently arrogated to themselves the first place at the feast without having on the wedding garment, but who soon, very soon, if he was not greatly deceived, must begin with shame to take the lower room.

Mr. BUSH.—Sir, I speak to order, which I think it more decorous to do now, than to have interrupted the Hon. Member. I appeal to you, whether it be consistent with order that any one Member of this House should allude to the circumstances under which any other holds a seat in it? my seat is not impeached by a petition, and is no subject for the Hon. and Learned Member's (the Prime Sergeant) animadversion: let me however inform that Hon. and Learned Member, that tho' I did not require to be reminded by him of what I can never forget, because it is the most proud and honourable circumstance of my life, yet that he has stated the transaction, (I presume from misrepresentations made to him) altogether contrary to the truth. I have been very warm, but I hope shall shew my present good temper, and my candour, by saying, that I really believe the Hon. and Learned Gentlemen

incapable

incapable of a wilful misstatement; and that he has under some gross misinformation represented circumstances relative to me, which are not true. The flattering and honourable distinction conferr'd upon me, was, I solemnly protest to God, not only without my solicitation, but without my knowledge, and I have no fear that my veracity will be doubted by any man who knows me. I conclude by informing the Hon. and Learned Member once for all, that I hold my seat by the same title that he holds his office. My Character has plac'd me here, and his Character has plac'd him there.

Mr. BARRINGTON. When this momentous question was last agitated in Parliament, I gave it a firm, unequivocal, and decisive negative. That natural impulse of fire and indignation which pervaded the soul of any man who felt the insult and feared the injury to his country, glowed in mine; I stood forward with firmness, and opposed it with vigour. Since that period I have had time for reflection, I have thought, I have read, I have deepened into that important subject, and what was first the warm and natural impulse of agitated feelings, has now become the result of calm investigation and of deliberate judgment. I am of the same opinion still, nor is there an inducement on this terrestrial globe, a reward under that of heaven, which could this night seduce me to betray my country; I form that determination on genuine principles of the most unshaken loyalty, and unequivocal attachment to the benefits and the liberty of the British Constitution; acting on these principles I act as a supporter of the British Crown, and a friend to the British Sceptre. For I am confirmed in my opinion that a revolutionary measure arising from the ashes of a rebellion, and grounded on the distractions of a nation, never can be permanent. I know that the firm spirit of 1782 has ebbed for the moment. But I also know that in every country under heaven there is a recurring tide of public virtue, which, though it may sometimes recede, yet, like the billows of the ocean, is certain to return and difficult to resist. I dread, lest when that recurring tide shall waste away the despondency and dissipate the terrors of the Irish nation, when the deformity of dependence shall appear naked before them, that the event may become ultimately dangerous to the most precious of all our political considerations, namely, our imperial connexion with Great Britain; a connexion without which, Ireland must fall and Great Britain would be no more; with this impression engraven on my mind and interwoven in my understanding, I should be a bad subject and a worse Irishman, did I give my guilty assent to the perpetration of a measure so fatal to the honour of the Irish nation, and the integrity of the British empire. As a good subject and a loyal man I resist it. I never was a friend to political innovation or constitutional experiment. I learned and practised that lesson during ten years that I supported his Majesty's government;

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'twas a good lesson, and 'tis his Majesty's government, and not my instability, which now recedes from the principle which had been the standing argument of every preceding Administration. When I reflect on the measure as to its internal effect, the objections are equally strong and equally alarming.

Ireland has now nothing to ask, and Great Britain nothing to bestow, which could compensate the advantage of independent Constitution, or the security of a resident Legislature. Our Constitution is free, our trade is open, our manufactures prosper, and our tranquillity encreasing. What do we want which we may not look to from the hands of an Irish Senate? What favour have we to beseech from the hands of a British Parliament? None: internal peace and internal security will be best achieved amongst those who are to taste its benefits, and best know the causes of its real wants and internal discordance. When I reflect on the means of restoring our tranquillity, I find it is attainable amongst ourselves. The consideration of this question has opened a new scene to my reason, and thrown a new light upon my understanding. The hereditary prejudices of my early life, and the acquired bigotry of my late one, began to wear away, the mist began to dissipate, and I beheld my native Country rising above her faults and triumphant over her misfortunes, embracing ALL her children, clasping her sister in the genuine embrace of natural love and independent affection, and with her rising hand in hand in double strength and double prosperity; in separate persons, but with united love and united interest, under the power and protection of a common parent. When I reflected how that was to be attained, I conceived, that externally the kindness of Great Britain would ensure the gratitude of Ireland, and internally that oblivion was the safest road to peace and toleration, the surest course to prosperity. If these were the objects, a resident Parliament could best effect them; if peace, and toleration were not the objects, the Empire was lost. As to detail of measures to be granted by a Union, we wanted no favour; but, even if terms the most honourable, most lucrative, most beneficial, were to be offered, acceded to and adopted, where is the security of an hour's continuance, when we have lost our Parliament? The faith of nations is the faith of the Minister. No security under Heaven could we receive further than the will of a British Minister, or the vote of a British Parliament; the one alloyed by the complaisance of the Irish emigrants, and the other influenced by the errors or exigencies of the moment. And the same omnipotence of Parliament, which it is argued by Unionists gives authority to the representatives to vote away the Constitution of their country, would give them as legal an authority to vote away the considerations for which they sold it, to the purposes of any Minister who might buy themselves.

With these impressions on my mind, it is impossible I could support a measure so radically repugnant to my judgment, to my feelings, and my conscience.

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When this cruel subject was first brought forward it was rejected, the Union was then overthrown, but the blow that felled it was not followed, we collected rather to contemplate than to improve our victory, the monster lay prostrate at our mercy, every arm was raised to strike, but every weapon was directed to a different object, the blows fell amongst ourselves, and the monster crept away uninjured. I stepped out of my ranks to smite him in every limb, but he escaped by your mercy, he was not kept down, has again become animated, and again calls for the combat—believe me, Union can be only vanquished by Union. This discussion has proceeded to a great height, the eloquence and ability of my friends, who have preceded, leave any thing in me superfluous; but I cannot avoid mentioning the calumny I have experienced, and the misrepresentation I have undergone thro' my opposition to the measure. I was attached to the late administration, I supported it, I received favours at its hands, I fit for the City of Clogher, I determined to oppose the measures of the present administration. I saw early what they aimed at, and I determined to rid myself of the obligation which hung upon my honor, and that offer I did make in 1798, it was not required, yet my not having done so was made a false pretence against my integrity to my most valued friend in another country. But I will rid myself of an obligation which curbs my conduct, I shall unshackle my feelings, and return to my duty, independent of any consideration but my duty to my country. Mr. Barrington then went into a severe reprehension of the Prime Serjeant, for the words faction and sedition, applied to such Gentlemen of the Bar as opposed a Union—he said, the learned Member seemed to feel the consequence of his profession only by name—his practice did not incommode his parliamentary studies—his vocabulary not being much harrassed at the bar, seemed in full vigour for his parliamentary objects; but he should be cautious of using expressions which might be so fully and so justly retorted. The Hon. Member had a right to apply general expressions to general bodies, if he had a power to support them. But if the words sedition and faction were applied to him individually by the Hon. Member, they were false, impudent, and malicious; as to faction, he knew it not; he never was connected with any faction; and as to sedition, his loyalty had borne tests which would lose nothing in a comparison with the learned Member. Mr. Barrington said, he highly approved of the Hon. Baronet's motion; it had his full and unqualified approbation; he had never changed his opinion on the great subject; it remained invariably the same, matured by reflection, confirmed by experience, and founded upon honest attachment to British Connexion and British Constitutions.

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Sir JOHN MACARTNEY said, that the observation of the Hon. Baronet who had moved the amendment, could not be too strongly impressed, that the people of Ireland were too much in the habit of undervaluing themselves and overvaluing Great Britain; that a comparison of the present state of the two countries, would open their eyes to their own relative importance—Great Britain, according to the statement of Sir John Sinclair, when Resident of the Board of Agriculture, contained sixty-seven millions of acres—Ireland, according to Béaufort, contains about twenty millions of English acres—Great Britain (according to Chalmers who rates the population considerably higher than Doctor Price) contains nine millions six hundred thousand souls—Ireland contains, at the lowest computation, four millions and a half—the debt of Great Britain, according to Mr. Pitt's statement in Jan. last, (including the value of the long and short annuities, and after deducting the sinking fund) exceeds four hundred and sixty-six millions, exclusive of the loan to the Emperor, amounting in value, to about eleven millions more: the present debt of Ireland is about twenty millions, so that Ireland on about two-sevenths of the extent of the territory of Great Britain has nearly half her population, and does not owe the twenty-third part of the amount of her debt. Again, to shew that the British Government are totally regardless of the internal improvement of Great Britain, Sir John Sinclair states, that of the sixty-seven millions of acres she contains, seven millions are incapable of improvement:—Five millions are employed in agriculture, twenty-five millions in pasture, and that the remaining thirty millions of acres, which are all capable of improvement, so as to be to the country, if improved, at least produces 27,000,000 per annum, remains to the eternal disgrace of the British Parliament, totally neglected and totally unproductive. Gentlemen may suppose that a great proportion of this vast neglected territory is in Scotland; but their astonishment will increase when they are told that no less than 22,300,000 acres thereof are in England and Wales &c.---Has the Irish Parliament been so disgracefully negligent of the improvement of Ireland? No: has it ever refused, even under the most severe and oppressive influence of Great Britain, to hold forth almost every possible encouragement to the agriculture of Ireland?---No: the present prosperity of the country, proves it has not.

Thus then we see the true cause of the relative prosperity of Ireland, to have been a resident and enlightened Parliament, and now that Parliament is to be for ever removed. Can it be expected that the British Parliament will even, in any degree, promote the improvement of Ireland, when she has so shamefully neglected

neglected her own? To our own Parliament also, is this country indebted for the Vote against the payment of Tithes of adjustment,—on that Vote alone depends the *ex-motio*, and when this House shall be no more, that vote will fall with it, and the Irish clergy will claim the same tythes as the English clergy;—the tythes already paid in this country amount, according to the statement of a learned member of this House, to £200,000 a year, and these tythes are not above one-third of the tythes paid to the English clergy on the same articles; yet their payment has been so severely felt by the poor, that it has been the sole cause of every insurrection that has taken place in this country for half a century past, the late rebellion only excepted—Now, if in their present state, they are felt to be a grievance, what will they be when collected to the same extent and rigour as tythes are collected in England, and where every acre of pasture land in the kingdom, now exempt by the vote of this vote, shall be liable to them—when to £200,000 a year were collected, you may fairly make the addition of 600,000 men—If, Sir, after all the circumstances attending the proposed measure have been duly weighed by the people of Ireland, they shall be willing to submit themselves to be totally governed by a Parliament in which they will not form one-sixth part of the representation, by a country of about twice their population, having more than twenty-three times their debt;—God forbid, that I should resist it; but until their sense be fairly and honestly taken and expressed in its favour, I shall think myself fully warranted in resisting it in every step; and one grand motive of my resistance is, that I fear it may, if carried against the sense of the people, endanger the connexion of the two countries, a connexion which I am ready to lay down my life to prevent.

Mr. Fox argued against the amendment at great length, and contended that the nature of our connexion required an alteration, and that the Settlement of 1782 was not final. He went likewise into a detail of the Abuses, which he endeavoured to place to the Account of the imperfect state of a Constitution and connection with Great Britain, which he argued for some time, and then concluded by opposing the amendment.

Mr. Egan, had just risen to speak, when Mr. Grattan entered the House, introduced by the Rt. Hon. Wm. Brabazon Ponsonb, and Arthur Moore, Esq. Never did we witness so solemn a scene: an indescribable emotion seized the House and Gallery, and every heart heaved in tributary pulsation to the name, the virtues, and the return to Parliament of the Founder of the Constitution of 1782, the existence

of which was then the subject of debate. Having taken the Oaths and his Seat,

Mr. EGAN proceeded in a short, but spirited Speech, to assert his continued and firm opposition to the measure of a Legislative Union, and to bestow on it and upon its promoters, his strongest reprobation, and concluded by giving his hearty assent to the Amendment.

Mr. GRATTAN—Sir, the Gentleman who spoke the last but one, mentioned the settlement of 1782, adopting the ideas of the Minister of Great Britain---that Minister has come forward in two celebrated productions: he declares his intolerance of the Parliamentary Constitution of Ireland; that Constitution which he ordered the several Viceroy's to celebrate, in defence of which he recommended the French war, and to which he swore the yeomen---that Constitution he now declares to be a miserable imperfection, concurring with the men whom he executed in thinking the Irish Parliament a grievance, and differing in the remedy only---they proposing to substitute a Republic, and he the yoke of the British Parliament. We have seen him inveigh against their projects, let us hear him in defence of his own---he denies in the face of the two nations a public fact registered and recorded---he disclaims the final adjustment of 1782---and he tells you that this final adjustment was no more than an incipient train of negotiation. The settlement of which I speak, consists of several parts, every part a record, establishing on the whole two grand positions---First, the admission of Ireland's claim to be legislated by no other Parliament but that of Ireland---Secondly, the finality imposed upon the two nations, regarding all constitutional projects affecting each other. On the admission of that claim, the first tracts of this adjustment are two messages sent by his Majesty to the Parliament of the different countries, to come to a final adjustment, in order to remove the discontents and jealousies of the Irish---the second, the answer of the Parliament of Ireland, to his Majesty's message---declaring, among other causes of discontent and jealousy, one great, capital, principal, and fundamental cause---namely the interposition of the Parliament of Great Britain, in the Legislative Regulation of Ireland, accompanied with a solemn protest against that interposition, and with a claim of right on the part of Ireland; not of the Parliament of Ireland only, but of the people of the realm, whose ancient and unalienable inheritance it was stated in that address to be---a perpetual exemption against the interference of the Parliament of Great Britain, or that of any other legislation, save only the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland.

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The third part of this adjustment was a resolution voted by the two British Houses of Parliament, in consequence of said address, transmitted by his Majesty for their consideration; there were two resolutions transmitted---1st, That the 6th of George I. containing the claim of interference by the British Parliament, should be repealed;---the 2d, That the connection between the countries should be placed by mutual consent, on a solid and permanent foundation;---the 3d part of the covenant was, The address of the two Houses of the Irish Parliament, upon the consideration of these two Resolutions; which address does, among other things, accept of the proposition contained in the first resolution; and does expressly reject the second; for it says, that we conceive the resolution for unqualified, unconditional repeal of the 6th of George I. to be a measure of consummate wisdom.

I drew that address---and I introduced those words expressly to exclude any subsequent qualifications or limitations, affecting to clog or restrain the operations of that repeal, and the plenitude of the legislative authority of the Irish Parliament. The address adds the clause of finality for instance; that gratified in those particulars which it states, no "Constitutional question between the "two nations, will any longer exist."

The next part was the measure adopted by the English Parliament upon the consideration of this address; and in that measure, they accede to that address entirely and unequivocally; they embrace our proposition of unconditional and unqualified repeal; and they accordingly introduce a bill for that purpose; and thus they close the final adjustment;---our address, though no part of their resolutions, becoming part of their covenant: as their bill of repeal, though no part of our acts, became part of our treaty.

Another instrument in the transaction is the address to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, touching the finality of this measure, in which are these words---"We have seen this great national arrangement established on a basis which secures and unites the interests of both kingdoms, the objects we have been labouring for have been accomplished."

The next is the declaration of the Irish Government, touching the finality of that arrangement, "convince the people that every cause of past jealousy and discontent is finally removed, and that both countries have pledged their good faith to each other, and that their best security will be their inviolable adherence to this compact." There are two other parts which are material, the resolution of the Irish House of Commons, the 18th of June, declaring in substance, that the question was not now to be

be opened, and that the business was done, and in these words, that leave to bring in a bill of Right was refused, because the right of legislation in the Irish Parliament in all cases, had been already asserted by Ireland, and fully, and finally, and irrevocably acknowledged by Great Britain.

The next instrument was an address to his Majesty, to beseech him to point a day of public thanksgiving, for the accomplishment of these great objects, as well as for his victories: thus it appears, that whatever idea might have been conceived in the 2d resolution of the 17th of May (82), it was totally and entirely abandoned, the Minister of that time probably intended to make the best bargain he could for England, and therefore conceived it eligible to condition, and qualify the acknowledgment of the independency of the Irish Parliament, by certain provisions respecting navigation, &c. but finding that the Irish Parliament would accept of nothing but the unqualified and unconditional repeal, he dropt the fruitless idea. I cannot presume to state his sentiments, but I can state that the Irish propositions of unqualified and unconditional repeal, rejecting the idea of further measures, was adopted in England by her Parliament, which embraced the Irish propositions of unqualified and unconditional repeal of the 6th of George the First, and did repeal it accordingly without qualification, condition, or limitation.

I beg leave to mention two facts, which, though not recorded, are not forgotten; the one is a declaration by Lord Lansdown, then Secretary of State, that the repeal by the 6th of George the First, was the only measure he meant to propose---the other was a declaration by the Representative of the Irish Government, in the Irish House of Commons, made after our address of the 27th of May, that no measures were intended to be grounded on the 2d English resolution of May 17th: I remember the question to have been asked and answered.

I think I have now shown from the records quoted, that the argument of the Minister is against the express letter, the evident meaning and honest sense of this final settlement, and I beg leave to repeat that finality was not only a part of the settlement, but one of its principal objects; the case is still stronger against him, finality was the principal object of his country, as legislative independency was the object of ours. Ireland wished to seize the moment of her strength for the establishment of her liberties; the court of England wished to conclude the operations of that strength, and bound its progress; the one country wished to establish her liberty, the other to check the growth of demand; I say, the growth of demand, it was the expression of the time; the court of England came therefore to an agreement with this country, viz. to establish for
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ever, a free and independent existence of the Irish Parliament, and to preserve for ever the unity of the British empire; the former, by the above-mentioned adjustment, the latter, by the clause of finality to that adjustment annexed, and by precluding then, and at all times to come, the introduction of any further constitutional questions in either country, affecting the connexion which was to rest under solemn covenant, unimpregnable and invincible to the intrigue, or ambition of either country, founded on the prudent, the profound, the liberal, and the eternal principle of unity of empire, and separation of Parliament.

I might however waive all this, and yet the Minister would get nothing by it; I might allow, contrary to common sense, that final adjustment as proposed by his Majesty, means incipient negotiation; I will suppose, contrary to truth, to public faith, public honor, and common policy, that the councils of Great Britain at that time, meant to leave the Irish Constitution open to the encroachments of British Parliament, and the British empire, open to the encroachments of the Irish volunteer, that is, that she meant to expose the solidity of her empire, in order to cheat the Irish, 1st. Of their opportunity, and afterwards of their constitution; and yet he has gained nothing by these preposterous concessions, because he must allow that the arrangement did proceed to certain articles of covenant, and the first article on the part of England excludes his Union, being the assent of the Parliament of Great Britain to the requisition of the people of Ireland, which was to be exempted in all times to come from the interference of British Parliaments, and to have established over them, no other legislature whatever, save only that of the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland; admitting then the ridiculous idea of ulterior measures to follow final adjustment; a Union could not be one of them, it is hardly necessary to mention that he has been Minister ever since that period; that during the whole of that time he never ventured to name Union, as one of those further measures, not in 1783 when a bill was brought in by the Ministry, not in 1785 when he introduced his celebrated propositions, and stated the 2d resolution of the 17th May, 1783, to comprehend not the Constitution but the commerce of both countries, not in the administration of 1785, not in short until he had reduced this country by a train of calamitous measures, to religious divisions, to the condition of a conquest, such as she was when the Parliament of England at the close of the last century, took away her trade, and in the middle of the present took away her Constitution.

The Minister proceeds, he impeaches the Constitution of 1782 from disavowing an arrangement so adjusted at that time, and an adjustment so concluded, he advances and calls that adjustment a miserable

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miserable imperfection, after fifteen years panegyric, and when he has a great army in Ireland he has made that discovery, and instead of a Constitution which established peace in Ireland, he revives a principle which produced war in America, namely that two independent legislatures are incompatible; this was the language of Lord North's sword in the colonies, this is the language of Mr. Pitt's sword in Ireland, and the doctrine of an imperial legislature which lost Great Britain America, and which Great Britain surrendered to Ireland, takes once more its bloody station in the pages of the Minister, in defiance of faith, and in contempt of experience; it seems as a British Parliament is disposed to surrender its liberties to the court, the court is disposed to advance its domination over all the British connections; similarity of constitutions is no longer the bond of connection, all are to be swallowed up according to this doctrine in one imperial Parliament whose powers encrease as the boundaries of the empire contract, and the spirit of her liberties declines.

"You abolished," says he, "one Constitution, but you forgot to form another."—Indeed!—What! does he mean that we should have demolished a usurpation: in order to mangle a Constitution? Does he mean that we should have overset the tyranny of one Parliament to mangle another? In short, does he mean that we should have taken away the usurped and tyrannical powers of the Legislature of England, in order to restore those usurped and tyrannical powers to that very Legislature? In what branches? His propositions have stated them; Commerce, &c. the very branches in which they had been by that very Legislature most oppressively and egregiously, obstinately and transcendantly abused. Most certainly the conductors of that settlement on the part of Ireland did not think proper so to restore the grievance of a foreign Legislation, and so to limit the powers of a domestic one. The Minister has given in his speech the reason—"All the great branches of trade (by which he must mean the linen trade, the plantation trade, the import trade) are ascribed to the liberality of England, not to covenant."—I deny it—but as Ministers may deny covenants, it seemed prudent to reserve the powers of Parliament, and accordingly the Irish Legislature retains full and ample resources, under the settlement of that time, to incline the councils of England to remember and observe her compacts with our country, should the British Minister be disposed to forget them—thus the Parliament of Ireland can so regulate her intercourse with other countries for colonial produce, so regulate her right to an East India trade, and so duty her Channel trade, as to secure a preference in the English market to her linens, and to secure a direct intercourse with the British plantations: was

Ireland to retain those powers with a view to annoy? No; but she was to retain them, and to retain them lest Great Britain, instigated by some Minister, might be induced to exercise once more those very powers of annoyance with which now the Right Hon. Gentleman threatens Ireland; in short, lest Great Britain should retain all her powers of molestation, and Ireland should surrender all her powers of retaliation. The classic Minister must know, Tacitus has told him, that between the powerful and the impotent there can be no peace; the powers I speak of were powers of peace; they were powers of protection; they were the great reserves of the Irish Parliament to secure the trade of Ireland and harmony of empire; the wisdom of the reserve such a Minister as he is was born to establish. Strange ideas this Minister entertains of the Constitution of an Irish Parliament.

It should be incompetent, it should be omnipotent; incompetent to regulate the commerce of the country, omnipotent to overturn her Constitution: it should be inadequate and almighty, inadequate to protect, almighty to sell the people. Its divine powers are to arise from its obsequiousness, and the act of its surrender with him constitutes its omnipotence.

The Minister proceeds: he specifies his objections to this settlement of 1782; the case of regency is one, and war another. Facts are against him in both. He states that it was accident alone, meaning the recovery of his Majesty, that preserved the identity of the Executive power at the time of the Regency—he mistakes that fact totally and entirely, it was not accident—viz. the recovery of the King that preserved the identity of the Executive powers, that identity was preserved amply, carefully and affectionately, by the determination of the Irish Parliament in choosing for their Regent the Heir Apparent of the Crown, already designated and determined upon, though not in form invested by the Parliament of Great Britain. The Parliament of Ireland provided in that event not only for the preservation of the monarchical principle, but for the preservation of the connexion likewise, and adhered to his country, though they did not link themselves to his party. The principle that came under the consideration of the Irish Parliament was threefold, the principle of Monarchy—the principle of Connexion, and the principle of Party. With regard to the two first, they concurred with the Parliament of England—they chose as Regent the next in succession to the Crown, and they chose him after, and not before the Parliament of Great Britain had signified with the Minister at their head, their determination to appoint him, and in so doing they followed faithfully the spirit of the act of Annexation of the Crown, which forms between the two countries their bond and connexion—but a bond and connexion through the medium of monarchy. I am

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stating the spirit of that act, without defending or condemning it. I say, the act of Annexation, and so the bill of 1782, altering and amending the act of Poynings, and ordaining that Irish bills shall be sent to the King, looks to the bond and connexion of these islands through the medium of monarchy. A British Republic never was in the contemplation of either, but an English Monarchy and no other form of Government was present to the conceptions of both, giving thereby the Royal House, who are the Monarchs of Ireland as well as of Great Britain, a double security, and the throne upon which they sit a double root. I say the Parliament of Ireland did adhere to the principles of British connexion, and did unite with them the safe and the prescribed principles of Monarchical Government—they did concur with the Parliament of England in the choice of a Regent, in the person of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. But with regard to the third principle, namely, the principle of Party, they differed, the Parliament of England thinking proper to incumber the Regent with extraordinary limitations, and that of Ireland judging it more eligible to leave him in full exercise of all the Executive powers; it therefore rejected a motion of delay, knowing the object of that motion was to postpone the appointment until the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland should have formed a formidable faction confederated against the future Government. In short, the Parliament of Ireland did not think it proper to appoint a Regent with less than Regential power, and to constitute in opposition a Minister with great portions of Regal authority. Hence, perhaps, this Union—hence, perhaps, the visitation of calamitous Government which has befallen Ireland ever since one of the Minister's instruments in this country has confessed it:—he has said in one of his speeches published by his authority, that all the misfortunes of this country sprung from that resentful period. But who is it reproaches Ireland upon this subject, most injuriously and unjustly, with the crime of availing herself of the opportunity afforded by that most calamitous event that visited the health of our sovereign; 'tis that very Minister who published that opportunity in the broadest and most unqualified resolution; who told the Parliament of both countries, that they were perfectly competent to supply, in that melancholy moment, the deficiency in the Executive magistrate, by any method which they thought proper; that is, who told the British Houses they were competent to establish a temporary Republic; and told the Irish Houses of course, and by necessary inference, that they were competent to establish a temporary Republic, and to accomplish a temporary separation; to have declined the opportunity is called the ambition of one Parliament—to have proclaimed the opportunity, is called the moderation of the
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the Minister. His partizan in this country went farther, he maintained the power of the British Parliament to bind Ireland :—

Ille impiger hausit

Spumantem pateram et pleno se proluit auro.

According to the two opinions, the two Houses of the British Parliament could overturn the British Monarchy and Irish Constitution.

The Minister proceeds :—He states a second instance, namely, that of war. Here, again, the fact is against him ; the Parliament of Ireland have, ever since their emancipation, concurred with England on the subject of war ; but they have concurred, with this remarkable difference, that before their emancipation, their concurrence was barren, and since their emancipation, it has been productive. Immediately on the settlement of that emancipation in 1782, they voted a sum for British seamen, and on the apprehension of a war with Spain in 1790, they voted another ; and in the present war, under Lord Fitzwilliam's administration, they voted a third ; so much more beneficial are the wild offerings of Liberty, than the squeezings, and eviscerations, and excruciations of power ; but all this is lost upon the Minister ; fact and bounty make no impression on him ; he has against both, a fallacious argument, and hungry speculation.

He thinks that he foresees that the Parliament of Ireland, may dissent from that of Great Britain, on the subject of war. He knows that peace and war are in the department of the King, not of the Parliament ; he knows that on a proclamation by his Majesty, Ireland is in a state of war of course, without the assent of the Houses of Parliament ; he knows that the supply of that war depends not on the Parliament of Ireland, but of Great Britain, and therefore the interference of the Parliament of Ireland on that subject is little more than the declaration of a sentiment ; now the declaration of a sentiment on such a subject is only valuable as it is the sentiment of the nation ; and the concurrence of Ireland in British wars can only be the sentiment of the nation as the constitution of the nation, that is to say, the rights of Ireland as claimed by herself, to be exempted from the legislative authority of a British Parliament, tendered, regarded, and protected by the British empire. It is not the Isle of Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, the Mysore Country, nor the dominions of Tippoo, nor yet the feathers of her western wing, that engage the attention or interests of Ireland, it is her own internal Freedom and Constitution, it is her own idea of that internal Freedom and Constitution, not such as British Ministers, who have invaded that Constitution, too often shall hold forth ; no : such as English nor Scotch metaphysicians, who made chains for America, and called them her Constitution,

Constitution, and are ready now to cast links for Ireland, but that Constitution which she herself, Ireland, feels, comprehends, venerates, and claims, such as she herself expressed in her convention at Dungannon, and through all her counties and cities, and in every description and association of people, and afterwards in full Parliament claimed, carried, registered and recorded; it is for the preservation of this Constitution, that she is interested in British wars. She considers the British empire a great western barrier against invasion from other countries; invasion on what? invasion on her liberties, on her rights and privileges; invasion on self-legislation, the parent and protectress of them all. She hears the ocean protesting against separation, but she hears the sea likewise protesting against Union, she follows therefore her physical destination and obeys the dispensations of Providence, when she protests like that sea against the two situations both equally unnatural, Separation and Union, but then she feels her Constitution to be her great stake in the empire, and she contemplates the empire as the great security of her Constitution, our liberty we think is secured by this great western barrier, and we give our strength to this western barrier for the security of our liberty, but if British Ministers should do that very mischief which we apprehend from the foreigner, namely, take away the parliamentary institutive of the realm, they take away with that our interest in the British dominions, and thus withdraw at once a great pillar of liberty and empire.

On these principles I suppose the dissent of Ireland on the subject of war, highly improbable, as it is uninstance; but I should attribute like the Minister infallibility to those councils that engage their country in a war, should I suppose the dissent of Ireland on such a subject at all times to be fatal. Happy had it been for his Majesty, happy had it been for his glory and renown in all times to come, had not the Parliament of Ireland in the American war curst him with her concurrence. What could the tutelary angel of England have done more, if that angel had been Minerva, and that Minerva sat in Parliament then have held over the councils of that time the shield of her displeasure; or what could the dæmon of Great Britain have done worse, or the avenging genius of the colonies than to have filled full and overflowing the measure of her malice, in an humble and dutiful address of thanks and concurrence? Looking back to the wars, in which Great Britain has been engaged, I should therefore suggest, that she is in less danger from the hesitation of Ireland, than from the precipitation of Great Britain. In this part of his argument the Minister is weak; but in his remedy is not only weak but mischievous. He proposes by taking away our powers of dissent, to withdraw our motive of

-concurrence;

concurrence, and to secure our silence, forfeits our affection; he foresees an improbable event, of that event he greatly exaggerates the dangers, and provides a remedy which makes that danger not only imminent but deadly.

I will put this question to my country, I will suppose her at the bar, and I will ask her, will you fight for a Union as you would for a Constitution? will you fight for that Lords and that Commons who in the last century took away your Trade, and in the present your Constitution, as for that King, Lords, and Commons, who have restored both? Well—the Minister has destroyed this Constitution; to destroy is easy; the edifices of the mind, like the fabricks of marble, require an age to build, but ask only minutes to precipitate, and as the fall is of no time, so neither is it the effect of any strength; a common labourer and a pickaxe; a little lawyer, a little pandar, and a wicked Minister.—

The Constitution, which with more or less violence has been the inheritance of this country for 600 years; that *modus tenendi parlamentum*, which lasted and outlasted of Plantagenet the wars—of Tudor the violence—and of Stuart the systematic falsehood—the condition of our connexion—yes, the Constitution he destroys is one of the pillars of the British empire; he may walk round it and round it, and the more he contemplates, the more must he admire it—such a one as had cost England of money a million, and of blood a deluge—cheaply and nobly expended—dear in its violation—dear in its recovery—whose restoration had cost Ireland her noblest efforts, and was the habitation of her loyalty—we are accustomed to behold the kings of these countries in the keeping of Parliament—I say of her loyalty, as well as of her liberty, where she had hung up the sword of the Volunteer, her temple of Fame, as well as of Freedom, where she had seated herself, as she vainly thought, in modest security and in a long repose.

I have done with the pile which the Minister batters—I come to the Babel which he builds, and as he throws down without a principle, so does he construct without a foundation. This fabric he calls an Union, and to this, his fabric, there are two striking objections. First, it is no Union—it is not an identification of people, for it excludes the Catholics. 2dly, It is a consolidation of the Irish Legislatures, that is to say, a merger of the Irish Parliament, and incurs every objection to an Union, without obtaining the only object which a Union professes—it is an extinction of the Constitution, and an exclusion of the People. Well! he has overlooked the People as he has overlooked the sea. I say he excludes the Catholics for ever, and for the very reason which he and his advocates hold out as the ground of expectation, that
hereafter

hereafter, in a course of time, (he does not say when) if they behave themselves, (he does not say how) they may see their subject submitted to a course of discussion, (he does not say with what result or determination)—and as the ground for this inane period, in which he promises nothing, in which he can promise nothing, and in which, if he did promise much, at so remote a period he could perform nothing, unless he, like the evil he has accomplished, be immortal. For this inane sentence, in which he can scarcely be said to deceive the Catholic, or suffer the Catholic to deceive himself, he exhibits no other ground than the physical inanity of the Catholic body accomplished by an Union, which, as it destroys the relative importance of Ireland, so it destroys the relative proportion of its Catholic inhabitants, and thus they become admissible, because they cease to be any thing. Hence, according to him, their brilliant expectation: “you were,” say his advocates, and so imports his argument, “before the Union, as three to one, you will be by the Union as one to four.” Thus he founds their hopes of political power on the extinction of physical consequence, and makes the inanity of their body and the non-entirety of their country, the pillars of their future ambition. Let me add, that even though the Catholic were admitted into Parliament, by the articles of Union, it would be of little avail to the body. What signifies to the body whether a Catholic individual be an insignificant UNIT in the English Parliament, or in the street; in either case he would be nothing—he would belong to nothing—he would have nothing to which he could belong—no country—no Irish People—no Irish Nation.

The Catholics of the city of Dublin have come forth in support of the Constitution—I rejoice at it; they have answered their enemies by the best possible answer—by services; such answer is more than refutation—it is triumph. The man who supports and preserves Parliament qualifies—the path of glory leads on to privilege “enjoy with me if you please—without me if you be illiberal”—but by me certainly—and at all events enjoy the Parliamentary “Constitution of your Country.” This is to defend the Tower, this is to leap upon the wreck, this is to sit by the country in her sick bed—if she recover, there is a long and bright order of days before her, and the Catholics will have contributed to that event, if she perish, they will have done their utmost to save her—they will have done as an honest man ought in such an extreme case—they will have flung out their last setting glories, and sunk with their Country.

The Minister, by his first plans, as detailed by his advocates, not only banished the Catholics from Parliament, but banished the
Protestant

Protestant poor likewise, for he banished them from a due representation therein; he struck off one half of the county representatives, and preserved the proportion of boroughs as two to one—thus he disposed of the questions of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, by getting rid of both for ever; thus did he build his first plan of Union upon the abuses both of Church and State, and reformed neither—religious monopoly, and borough monopoly, he continued to exclude the Catholic from Parliament, and he continued to shut out both Protestant and Catholic from a due and effectual Parliamentary Representation—he shut out Protestant Ascendancy, as well as Catholic participation, and in the place of both, constituted borough ascendancy in perpetual abuse and dominion—he reformed the British Parliament by nearly sixty Irish borough Members; he reformed the Irish Parliament by 558 English and Scotch Members, and on this mutual misrepresentation constituted an Imperial Legislature; there was no great effort of ability in all this, much felicity of mischief, no expenditure neither of time nor talent, there was nothing in the scheme which was grand, nothing which was deep, nothing which was comprehensive; he demolished an old institution, at the same time that he preserved old abuses, and put himself at their head, and entailed them on posterity like a common disorder, to be continued through what he calls a parental Parliament. Such a plan was too desperate, as far as relates to the proportion of counties and boroughs. I understand it is in part abandoned, and well it may, because whether these Representatives be in a greater or lesser proportion borough members, they will be the Host of Administration, and not the Representatives of the People. He takes one hundred members, many of whom are removed by the nature of their election from the influence of representation, all of whom by the removal from their country, are withdrawn from that of sympathy, from that of opinion. He changes the sphere not only of their action but of their character and of their sensations. How came the Irish Parliament, with all its borough Members in 1779, to demand a free trade—in 1782, to demand a free Constitution?—Because it sat in Ireland—because they sat in their own country—and because at that time they had country—because, however influenced, as many of its Members were by places—however uninfluenced, as many of its Members were by popular representation, yet were they influenced by Irish sympathy, and an Irish law of opinion, they did not like to meet every hour faces that look shame upon them—they did not like to stand in the sphere of their own infamy; thus they acted as the Irish Absentee at the very same time did not act; they saved the country because they lived in

in it, as the others abandoned the country because they lived out of it.

I will not say that 100 Irish gentlemen will act ill, where any man would act well; but never was there a situation in which they had so much temptation to act ill, and so little to act well; great expense and consequent distresses—support from the voice of an Irish public—no check—they will be in situation a sort of gentlemen of the Empire—that is to say, gentlemen at large, unowned by one country, and unelected by the other, suspended between both—false to both—and belonging to neither. The sagacious English Secretary of State has foretold this, “What advantage (says he) will it be to the talents of Ireland, this opportunity in the British Empire thus opened?” that is what we dread—the market of St. Stephen opened to the individual, and the talents of the country, like its property, dragged from the kingdom of Ireland, to be sold in London; these men from their situation, (man is the child of situation) their native honour may struggle; but from their situation they will be adventurers of the most expensive kind—adventurers with pretensions—dressed and sold, as it were, in the shrouds and grave-cloaths of the Irish Parliament, and playing, for hire, their tricks on her tomb—the only repository the Minister will allow to an Irish Constitution, the images of degradation, and the representatives of nothing.—Come, he has done much—he has destroyed one Constitution, he has corrupted another—and this corrupted Constitution he calls a Parental Parliament.

I congratulate the country on the new baptism of what was once called the representative body of the nation;—instead of the plain august language of the Constitution, we are here saluted with the novel and barbaric phraseology of empire. With this change of name, we perceive a transfer of obligation, converting the duty of the delegate into the duty of the constituent, and the inheritance of the people into the inheritance of their trustees.

Well, this assembly, this Imperial Parliament, what are its elements? Irish absentees, who have forsaken their country, and a British Parliament that took away the Constitution—does he say that such a Parliament will have no prejudices against Ireland? Let him look to his speeches—a capital understanding, a comprehensive knowledge, and a transcendent eloquence—hear him with all these powers speak on the subject of Ireland, whether it be the conduct of her administration, the character of her people, her commerce or her covenants, or her Constitution, and he betrays an ignorance that would dishonour an idiot. Does he wish for further instances, let him look to the speeches of his agents in Ireland,

Ireland, speeches made and published for the palate and prejudices of the English court, what description of men have they not traduced, what patriotic achievement have they not depreciated, what honest character have they not belied? Does he look for further instances, let him turn to his catalogue, what notorious apostate whom he has not honoured? what impudent defamer of the rights and character of Ireland that he has not advanced? on the other hand, what man that made a stand for her liberties, whom he has not dismissed? Mr. Fitzgerald, Sir John Parnell also, who had supported his Government long, refused to abandon their Country and their honour, and were immediately told they were no longer fit for the service of Government. Mr. Foster, who had supported his administration long, held up his shield for that Parliament of which he is the natural advocate, and was immediately honoured by the enmity of the court, and a personal attack on his character and consistency.

Lord Fitzwilliam, an Englishman, a friend to the war, a strenuous advocate for order and regular government, with a character that is purity itself, entertained for Ireland a fatal affection, and by that one offence cancelled all his long and splendid catalogue of virtues, and does he disclaim prejudices against Ireland?

A Legislature, the parent of both countries, he talks of; a Legislature, as far as relates to Ireland, free from the influence of vicinity, of sympathy. The life of Man is all that, free from the influence of opinion, free from the influence of duty, directed by prejudices, and unincumbered with knowledge. In order to judge what this parental legislature would be, let us consider what the British Parliament has been, and let us compare that Parliament, for this purpose, with the Legislature of Ireland, and in this comparison I do not mean to approve all the Parliaments that have sat in Ireland. I left the former, because I condemned its proceedings; but I argue not like the Minister, from the misconduct of one Parliament against the being of Parliament itself. I value that Parliamentary Constitution by the average of its benefits—and I affirm, that the blessings procured by the Irish Parliament in the last twenty years, are greater than all the blessings afforded by British Parliaments to Ireland for the last century, greater even than the mischiefs inflicted on Ireland by British Parliaments, greater than all the blessings procured by those Parliaments for their own country within that period—within that time the legislatures of England lost an empire, and the Legislature of Ireland recovered a Constitution.

Will we have done with this parental Parliament, and now come to the bribes which he holds out?—And first, he begins with the Church. To the Protestant Church he promises perpetual security—to the Catholic Church his advocates promise eventual salary—and both hold out to the farmer commutation of tythes.

With respect to the Protestant Church, whatever may be his wishes in favour of its duration, he takes the strongest measures to accomplish its destruction, for he attempts to disgrace it to all eternity. He is employing, or his agents are employing, several of its members to negotiate away the Constitution, and to mendicate addresses transferring to another country the Parliament and legislative power of their own, disfranchising the very people by whom the church is fed, and deserting the holy mission of God to fulfil this profligate mission of the minister. Give up your country, says the Minister, give up your character, and be immortal. So said Charles the 1st to his Church, when he prostituted the gospel and regimented the clergy into battalion against the Constitution, and overturned the Church by its own infamy.

At the same time, that the Minister endeavours to take away by his measures, the authority of one Church, his advocates tell you, that he proposes to give salaries to another, that is, they tell you that he proposes to bribe the Catholic Clergy, if they will betray the Constitution, in whatever form of religion our pious court contemplates the Almighty, it ever occurs to convert Him to some diabolical purpose. The Catholics had been accused pretty liberally of disloyalty, by those very advocates who now seem to think it is proper to reward their imputed treasons against the King, provided they shall be followed up by real treasons against the people, I do not believe, I never did believe, the general charges made against the Catholics, I do not dispute, I never did dispute the propriety of giving salaries to their clergy—but it should be salaries, not bribes—salaries for the exercise of their religious duty, and not wages for the practice of political apostacy—according to this plan, the Catholic religion, it would seem, disqualified its followers to receive the blessings of the Constitution; but his hostilities to that Constitution qualifies him to receive a salary, for the exercise of that very religion, which is at once punished by civil disability and encouraged by ecclesiastical provision—as good Catholics they are disqualified, and as bad citizens they are to be rewarded. I dare say, in general, the Catholic Clergy will feel on this occasion, as they have done upon others, a regard for their native land, superior to the threats of a Minister.

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The Minister proceeds—he proposes his third bribe, namely, the abolition of tythes. You observe, such a proposal does not seem to form part of his Union, but is an offer kept back; to be regulated, modified and qualified when the Union is past, and the consideration is given. I approve of a modus as a compensation for tythe—but I do not approve of it as a compensation for Parliament; when I proposed that measure, and was opposed by men by whom I could only be opposed, and could not be answered, I was told by the King's Ministers that commutation of tythe was the overturn of Church—couple then the project of the Minister now, with the argument of his agents then, and the combined idea amounts to this, that it is prudent to overturn the Church, provided at the same time you overturn the Constitution; but the fact is, that the argument at that time was false, and the proposal at this time fallacious, and both shew that the argument had for its object personal calumny, and the proposal national extinction.

The Minister has not done with bribes, whatever economy he shews in argument, here he has been generous in the extreme.—Parson, Priest, (I think one of his advocates hints the Presbyterians) not forgotten, and now the Mercantile Body are all to be bribed, that all may be ruined. He holds out commercial benefits for political annihilation—he offers you an abundance of capital, but first he takes it away; he takes away a great portion of the landed capital of the country by the necessary operation of Union; he will give you, however, commercial capital in its place; but first he will give you taxes, it seems 'tis only necessary to break the barriers of Liberty, and the tides of commerce will flow in of course; take away her rival in landed capital, and then commercial capital advances without fear. Commerce only wants weight, it seems, in order to run with new spirit. He not only finds commerce in the retreat of landed capital, but he finds corn also. Why not wine? If the removal of landed capital shall produce wheat, why not the distillation of the sun wine? Why any method in his madness, when there is so much madness in his method; his whole speech is a course of surprises; the growth of excision, the resource of incumbrance, and harvests sown and gathered by the absence of the proprietor of the soil and their property. All these things are to come, when; he does not tell you—where, he does not tell you; you take his word for all this. I have heard of a banker's bill of exchange, bank of England's notes, bank of Ireland's notes, but a prophet's promissory note is a new traffic; all he gets from Ireland is solid loss; all he promises visionary, distant and prophetic advantages; he
sees,

fees, I do not, British merchants and British capital sailing to the provinces of Connaught and Munster, there they settle great multitudes, themselves and families. He mentions not what description of manufacturers—who from Birmingham, who from Manchester—no matter, he cares not; he goes on asserting, and asserting with great ease to himself, and without any obligation to fact; upon the subject of Icada imagination is the region in which he delights to disport, where he is to take away your Parliament, where he is to take away your first judicature, where he is to take away your money, where he is to encrease your taxes, where he is to get an Irish tribute; there he is a plain direct matter of fact man; but where he is to pay you for all this—there he is poetic and prophetic—no longer a third-hand financier, but an inspired accomptant; Faucy gives him her wand—Amalthea takes him by the hand—Ceres is in his train.

The English capitalist he thinks will settle his family in the midst of those Irish Catholics whom he does not think it safe to admit into Parliament: as subjects he thinks them dangerous, as a neighbouring multitude safe. The English manufacturer will make this distinction; he will dread them as individuals, and confide in them as a body, and settle his family and his property in the midst of them; he will therefore, the Minister supposes, leave his mines, leave his machinery, leaves his comforts, leave his habits, conquer his prejudices, and come over to Ireland to meet his taxes, and miss his Constitution. They did not do this when the taxes of Ireland were few; we were indeed told they would, as we are now told. They did not do this when there was no military government in Ireland. However, as prejudices against the country encrease, he supposes commercial confidence may encrease likewise; there is no contradicting all this, because arguments which reason does not suggest, reason cannot remove—besides the Minister in all this does not argue, but foretell—now you can scarcely answer a Prophet, you can only disbelieve him; his arguments are false, but his inspirations may be true; appearances, however, are against them—for instance, a principal ground of complaint in Ireland is a misapplication of landed capital, or the diversion of it to foreign countries from the cultivation of Ireland, where great tracts remain either totally neglected, or superficially improved—where the tenantry has not capital, and the land can be reclaimed only by the employment (and a very rational employment it would be) of part of the rent arising therefrom, on the soil which produced it, improving however gradually since the establishment of our free Constitution, which contains in itself the powers of checking the evil I speak of, and which,

which, by adding to the consequence of the country, will naturally diminish the number of Absentees, aided as it must be by the growth of English taxes, unless by a Union we adopt those taxes in Ireland. How does he remedy this disorder? He finds a great Absentee draught: he gives you another, and having secured to you two complaints, he engages to cure both. Another principal cause of complaint, is another effect arising from the non-residence of Irish landlords, whose presence on their own estates is necessary for the succour, as well as the improvement of their tenantry—that the peasant may not perish for want of medicine, of cordial, and of cure, which they can only find in the administration of the Landlord, who civilises them, and regulates them in the capacity of a Magistrate, while he husbands and covers them in that of a protector, improving not only them but himself by the exercise of his virtues, as well as the dispensation of his property, drawing together the two orders of society—the rich and poor—until each may administer to the other, and civilise—the one by giving, and the other by receiving—so that Aristocracy and Democracy may have a head and a body—so that the rich may bring on the poor, and the poor may support the rich, and both contributing to the strength, order, and beauty of the State, may form that pillar of society, where all below is strength, and all above is grace; how does his plan accomplish this? He withdraws their landed gentlemen, and then improves Irish manners by English factors; but I leave his trifling, and come to his threats.

As he offered before, a trade which he had not to give, so now he menaces to withdraw a trade which he cannot take away; his threat is founded on a monstrous assertion, that our principal branches of commerce are due to the liberality of England!!!

Liberality of England to Irish Commerce! Where are we to look for it? In what part of this century? for near one hundred years, it is a long time, the Minister himself disclaims the illiberal policy of his country. Is it at the close of the century, for instance, in his Majesty's Speech from the throne in the year 75, where he is advised to signify his intention to maintain the principle of American taxation over all his dominions? Or is it in the embargo of the same period? Or is in the tea tax imposed on Ireland by the British Parliament about the period of 79? Or will he say this liberality appears in the mockery of those bills, in which England affected to relieve the distresses of Ireland? Was it in the English act, giving the Irish a power to catch whale, or in that other bill, permitting the Irish to plant tobacco? Or was it in 98 that this liberality made its appearance? No: For I remember in that period moving an address for the extension of Irish Commerce—and I remember also being opposed and defeated, by
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the immediate interposition of the Crown. It is not then in the period of 78, that we are to look for this liberality—was it in the period of 79—the time of the shop-money bill—of the non-consumption agreement—of the Irish requisition of free trade.

Here is the liberality of England; she was just then, she was liberal never; and she was just to you then, because you were then just to yourself; she has been faithful since; I shall be satisfied for one with her fidelity and justice, and on these occasions I acknowledge both. Are there any further instances in which we are to look for English justice in the subject of Irish trade? Yes, there is another in 93, on the subject of the re-export; an attempt had been made to carry that point for Ireland in 1786, contained in two resolutions which I moved as an amendment to the Navigation Act, which has been charged to Ireland as a favour, but which was in fact jobbed to the British Ministry by him who made the charge, and sold without any clause of equality and reciprocity; but afterwards in 93, a re-export bill passed in Great Britain in favour of Ireland, exactly at the time when the charter of the East India Company expired, and an Irish bill was necessary and did pass to secure her monopoly for a limited time: such is the history of British Concession. Now look at the tariff, or see what has been the result; greatly in favour of England. Under the head of Home Manufacture and Colonial Produce, in favour of England—under the head of raw material the produce of their respective countries above two millions in favour of England. Under the head of foreign Articles a great balance in favour of England; add to this an absentee rental of considerably above a million, and you will find there is a balance of a sum of above four millions annually, in which Ireland administers to Great Britain, and pours herself, as it were abundantly and without reserve into the British dominion.

This is the trade the Minister threatens to alter, and thinks he threatens not Great Britain but Ireland—here he will have some difficulty, and first, the covenant of 79, he denies that covenant, he says that all the great commercial advantages of Ireland are to be ascribed to the liberality of the British Parliament and not to the Irish Parliament. Wherever he meets an Irish covenant he gives it no quarter—I will state the fact, and let the public judge.—In October 79, an address passed the Irish Commons, containing a requisition for a Free Trade, it was followed by a motion declaring that the Irish Commons would not for the present, grant new taxes, it was followed by a limitation of the act of supply to the duration of six months only—it was considered in England, and attended with resolutions moved by the then Minister, purporting to repeal certain restrictive acts on the Free Trade of Ireland, and to grant a direct intercourse between

Ireland

Ireland and his Majesty's plantations subject to equality of duty—these Resolutions were considered in the Parliament of Ireland.

[See the resolutions and the law expressing the condition and covenant]—they were voted satisfactory. A long money bill was then passed, and new taxes were then granted in consideration thereof, and this he calls no covenant—he has denied, it seems, the linen covenant—he has denied this commercial covenant of 1779, and he has denied the Constitutional covenant of 1782—and having disclaimed the obligation of three Treaties, he now proposes a fourth, founded on his denial of the three others, in which he desires you to give up your Parliament to secure his faith in time to come by encouraging his disavowal of former covenants. I argue in a different manner—I argue from his disposition to dispute the validity of covenant to the necessity of the existence of Parliament—an Irish Parliament—the guarantee of those covenants, who has power to preserve the obligation or resources to retaliate. Does the Minister when he talks of an eleemosynary trade; recollect how the Irish Parliament could affect the East India Company, by discontinuing the act of 1793, granted but for a limited time? Does he recollect how she could affect the British West India monopoly, by withdrawing her exclusive consumption from the British plantations?—Does he recollect how we could affect the navy of England, by regulations regarding our Irish Provisions?—Does he recollect how we could affect her Empire, by forming commercial intercourse with the rest of the world—but let not this depend upon idle threats, threats which never should have been advanced on one side, if they had not been first most imprudently introduced on his. I say, let not the argument rest on threats—but let it rest quiet on the past experiment—the experiment has been made—we got our trade by our resources and our Parliament—we will keep our trade by affection and by covenant—but should a British Minister choose to despise those tenures, we have another, we can keep our trade by the means by which we have obtained it, our Parliament, our resources.

He speaks of the linen trade. On this subject, indeed, he has been answered, as he has upon the others, by the argument and by the experiment; the argument which proves that the bounty on linen was not granted for the sake of Ireland, and that Irish linen sells itself. But suppose his reasoning in this case to be as true as it is fallacious, what does it amount to? That his country robbed Ireland of her free trade in the last century, and gave her, in the place of it, the export of one solitary manufacture, depending on the charity of England, and now proposes to rob
Ireland

Ireland of that manufacture, unless Ireland consents to be robbed of her Parliament. He has no other ground of triumph but the disgrace and dishonour of his country; however, her case is better than he has stated it; and that is proved by the experiment; for in 1779, we were encountered by the same threats on the same subject—we despised those threats, we put the question to a trial, we entered into a non-consumption agreement—we demanded a free trade—the free trade we obtained—the linen trade we preserved.

What he cannot reconcile to your interest, he affects to reconcile to your honour—He, the Minister (his budget crammed with corruption) proposes to you, to give up the ancient inheritance of your country, to proclaim an utter and blank incapacity to make laws for your own people, and to register this proclamation of incapacity in an act which inflicts on this ancient nation an eternal disability—and he accompanies these monstrous proposals by, undisguised terror, and unqualified bribery, and this he calls no attack on the honour and dignity of the kingdom.

The thing he proposes to buy, is what cannot be sold—LIBERTY. For it he has nothing to give—every thing of value which you possess, you obtained under a free Constitution—part with it, and you must be not only a slave but an idiot.

His propositions not only go to your dishonour, but they are built upon nothing else—he tells you, it is his main argument, that you are unfit to exercise a free Constitution, and he affects to prove it by the experiment. Jacobinism grows, says he, out of the very state and condition of Ireland. I have heard of Parliament impeaching Ministers, but here is a Minister impeaching Parliament—he does more; he impeaches the Parliamentary Constitution itself; the abuses in that Constitution he has protected, it is only its being that he destroys—on what ground?—your exports since your emancipation, and under that Parliamentary Constitution, and in a great measure by that Parliamentary Constitution have nearly doubled, commercially it has worked well. Your concord with England since the emancipation, as far as it relates to Parliament on the subject of war, has been not only approved, but has been productive—imperially therefore it has worked well. What then does the Minister in fact object to? That you have supported him, that you have concurred in his system, therefore he proposes to the people to abolish the Parliament and to continue the Minister—he does more—he proposes to you to substitute the British Parliament in your place, to destroy the body that restored your liberties, and restore that body which destroyed them—against such a proposition were I expiring on the floor I should beg to utter my last breath, and record my dying testimony.

Mr.

Mr. Conry said, it was hardly necessary for him to profess being short at the hour of nine o'clock in the morning. He said he thought it right to recal the attention of the House to the Question immediately before them; but before he stated the Question, he would offer a few observations on the extraordinary speech which the Hon. Gentleman, (Mr. Grattan) had on the moment of seating himself in his place, delivered in answer to the last Speaker (Mr. Fox) who was on his legs as the Hon. Gentleman entered the door of the House. A speech at which every man must be astonished, falling from the Hon. Gentleman under all the circumstances which had taken place since he last sat in that House, and following that Conspiracy and Rebellion which, to the knowledge of the Hon. Gentleman, had endangered the existence of the country, and during his late absence from it, had occupied the personal exertions of that loyal and spirited gentry amongst whom the Hon. Gentleman found himself once more seated. There was no person present who had not, he supposed, felt a sensation on the Hon. Gentleman entering at the Bar; whatever that sensation might have been, he doubted not every one felt it softened in a considerable degree on seeing him bear the appearance of weak health; but had the Hon. Gentleman's voice been but barely distinguishable, a few moments were sufficient to discover who the new member was, from the principles, and topics and expressions introduced in the didactic lecture with which he had condescended to favour the House. He wished the Hon. Gentleman had entered a little sooner, so as to hear that speech to which he had so suddenly replied, as it might have saved him much unnecessary labour and the house some time. The Hon. Gentleman had given a statement of the Constitution of 1782. He begged leave to acquaint him that the history of his own exploits, of which that statement consisted, was totally unnecessary, as that Settlement had never been impugned by any Member in the House; it being universally deemed and allowed to be final and conclusive to its particular object, viz. that of asserting the right of the Irish Nation, not to be bound by the acts of the British Legislature, in which the Nation of Ireland was not represented. To that point all agreed that that Settlement was final; but if it was supposed to be that sort of Final Settlement which was to preclude to the end of time all power of the Parliament of Ireland to consider and decide upon, and apply the circumstances arising from new situations for the future advantage of Ireland, then he must charge the Hon. Gentleman with drawing a conclusion equally illogical and unfounded, as the Hon. Gentleman could not support the absurdity of a perpetual bar to the power of Parliament to consult and advance the interests of

the nation, which they represented in the consideration of any new treaty which might be deemed advantageous.—This Constitution the Hon. Gentleman attempted to shew, was in all respects equal to the British Constitution, and fully competent to the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland; but had he taken his seat a little earlier than he did, and heard the whole of the speech of the able and learned Gentleman whom he attempted to answer, he would have been schooled upon that subject in such a manner, and have received such information from that able man, as would have given the Hon. Gentleman juster notions, and corrected the false partiality with which he contemplated and stated that Constitution as being the same as that of Great Britain. Mr. Corry said, at that hour he only touched on this subject, but could not take up the time of the House in repeating any part of what his Hon. Friend had so ably gone over in proving, that the Constitution of Ireland was not the same as that of Great Britain, and never could be so under the circumstances which the Executive Power stood in.—The Hon. Gentleman next proceeded to remark on the working of this Constitution of 1782, in answer to two points which he said the British Minister had instanced as liable to objection; these were the Regency and the question of War and Peace. In the Regency, Mr. C. said, he must extend his wish for the Hon. Gentleman's preference in that House to the last Session of Parliament, when his noble Friend [Lord Castlereagh] though not at so advanced an age, nor so long experienced in public life as the Hon. Gentleman, had discussed that subject in a manner so able, as would have given the Hon. Gentleman different lights from those by which he looked at it.—The Regency he divided with that expertness of which he was master of giving distinctions, into three points—as relating to the Monarchy—to the connexion of the two Countries, and to Party. The Monarchy the Hon. Gentleman said was preserved by the Irish Parliament having appointed the same person as the English Parliament—the Heir Apparent. The connexion, he said, was also preserved by their agreeing with the English Parliament. The party was a point on which the two Parliaments differed in the circumstances attending their arrangement: this statement, Mr. Corry said, he observed upon merely to prove that the Hon. Gentleman of his own shewing, demonstrated that the Legislatures might practically differ from each other, and therefore did himself demonstrate that the Constitution of 1782, as it admitted of such a disagreement between the two Legislatures
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of the Empire on points so important, was totally imperfect for preserving the connexion between Gr. B. & Ireland. The Hon. Gentleman next proceeded to the question of war and peace, on this he stated that the Irish Parliament had all the powers of the British; that the Crown bound both nations equally by the exercise of the prerogative of declaring war; and the Parliament of Ireland, he said, like that of Great Britain, would grant or refuse supplies as they thought fit:—true it was they could; but here again the infirmity and imperfection of the Constitution appeared: since the power of refusal to concur with the British Parliament was sufficient at any time to destroy the co-operation, and consequently to loosen the connexion and overturn the security of the Empire; at the same time that the Hon. Gentleman must acknowledge the inferiority of the Irish Constitution, in being deprived of all the control of the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown respecting peace and war, which the British Parliament, by the British Constitution possessed: for where was the control of the Irish Parliament over the British Minister advising the Crown to declare war, when even with respect to the Minister in this country the power of the Irish Parliament was totally inoperative over what the Hon. Gentleman himself had so often in his speeches expressly termed the fugacious responsibility of those who could elude the grasp of Parliament, and scoff at its authority by stepping on board the packet.—The inferiority and imperfection therefore of the Constitution of Ireland, as settled in 1782, was undeniable, and must be conceded by the Hon. Gentleman as far as respects peace and war.—The next topic of the Hon. Gentleman's speech was the description of the Constitution, which he began by asking emphatically the question, "What is the liberty of Ireland?"—To this question he proceeds to give an answer in the full vigour of those principles which the Hon. Gentleman had so often professed in that House, and disseminated in the nation; principles with which he had so successfully operated to debauch the minds and destroy the peace of the country. His answer was—the Liberties of Ireland are those which were settled at the Convention of Dungannon, afterwards ratified at the meetings, armed and unarmed, in the different countries, and finally registered by Parliament. And does the Hon. Gentleman (said Mr. C.) again set out with principles and statements calculated to set up once more the system of the Sovereignty of the People, and the subserviency of the Parliament? Does he not, after events that have taken place, hesitate thus to give colour and countenance again to the prevalence of Irish principles and doctrines? And does he not blush under all circumstances,

cumstances, at stating that the liberties of Ireland emanate from meetings of the people held at Dungannon and in the Counties in 1782, duly authorized in two stages as it were of popular Legislative Bodies, whilst the office he assigns to Parliament in the establishment of those liberties, is that of registering the encroachments of the people.

The Hon. Gentleman has thought fit in his speech, in which he has explained that the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland is sufficiently secured by the Constitution of 1782, to talk of the sister Kingdom under the description of the instinctive Enemy of Ireland; does the Hon. Gentleman after the sentiment which he suggests for the Irish Nation, as one of those Bonds which he explains as sufficient to preserve Connexion between the two Countries, speak thus? In the epithet of Instinctive Enemy applied to Great Britain, one of those aids which the Hon. Gentleman wishes to adopt in support of his Constitution of 1782, for securing the connexion of the Countries, and consolidating the strength of the British Empire?

Having settled the liberties of Ireland, as emanating from the meetings at Dungannon, and in the counties, he next proceeds, (said Mr. C.) to speak upon the subject of the Catholics; on that subject this was not the proper time for any thing to be said on the one hand or on the other, as it was in no respect regularly before the House, but it could not have passed unnoticed that the subject had been nevertheless introduced by the Hon. Gentleman with observations on attempts made to deprive them, as he stated it, of their physical force: this expression Mr. C. reprobated in strong terms; physical force he said was full of meaning, and peculiarly adapted to rouse in the minds of the low and ignorant classes of the nation, those nations to which the Country owed its loss of its peace, the interruption of its prosperity, the robberies, murders and devastation which it had undergone, and to which so many ignorant and misguided men, after committing the barbarous atrocities of which they had been guilty, owed their death by the hands of the Executioner, or by the necessary though tardy exertions of His Majesty's troops. The Hon. Gentleman then proceeds to talk of the Catholic Clergy, whom he describes as a band of prostituted men, engaged in the support of Government; this body of men, who in better times were used to moderate the passions, and guide the conduct of the weak and ignorant, and are represented as objects of contempt or disgust, and as if something was again wanting to set loose the uncontrolled passions of the lower orders, the Hon. Gentleman having first called up the subject of the Catholic physical force, proceeds to degrade and destroy the authority of their Clergy, as if it was
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necessary to remove the last and only check that could assuage the heated and misguided multitude. But it is not enough for the Hon. Gentleman to exhibit the Catholic Clergy alone in this point of view, the Church at large must be brought to the same level, the established Church is the object of his succeeding animadversion, and after them the Dissenters. These holy men, as he calls them, are likewise engaged in support of the measures of Government, and they must be debased; they are accordingly represented by the Hon. Gentleman without qualification or distinction; the Clergy of the established Church, of the Dissenters, and of the Catholics, as bribed into one common conspiracy in support of Government, as one common band of contemptible instruments, enemies to the Constitution and Traitors to their Country. If, said Mr. C. French principles consist in the overthrow of all religion, the eradicating of all morality, the confounding of all orders of society, and the establishment of the Sovereignty of the People; what, let me ask, are the principles of the Hon. Gentleman? The charge of bribery on the question of Union, is next applied to other descriptions of persons; the merchant is to be bribed by trade, the manufacture by capital; and he endeavours to shew the fallacy of these hopes to both. For these descriptions Mr. C. said he did not feel so much anxiety, from the observation of the Hon. Gentleman; they both understood their own interests too well to be deceived by his assertions. He would refer the Hon. Gentleman for an answer to his own statements, to the experience and unbiased judgment of the conspicuous Capitalist, who had been enabled by his pursuits in trade, to bestow for the service of his Country a Voluntary Contribution of twenty thousand pounds, he meant Mr. Peile, who, in the British Parliament, delivered an opinion directly the reverse of that of the Hon. Gentleman. He would also have referred him, had he come sufficiently early into the House, to the Speech of a Right Hon. Member of this House on that night; one of the most experienced men, the first capitalist, as well as a great landed proprietor, and at the head of the second House perhaps in Europe, (Mr. Latouche) who had given his opinion also, that a Legislative Union could not fail to be highly advantageous to the trade and manufactures of this kingdom. Mr. C. apologized for taking up the time of the House, and said, though he could not resist animadverting on the principles and expressions in the Hon. Gentleman's Speech, yet he would content himself with having only touched on them. He then stated the question of the night to be no other than this, whether the House would by anticipation conclude itself against looking at the statement proposed to be submitted of a plan for a Legislative

lative Union, and whether they would resolve to preclude the possibility of the Kingdom of Ireland receiving the benefits of that Measure, if benefits should be found on investigation to be conveyed by it. As to the Vote on this Question being a pledge to adopt that Measure as brought forward, no man had ever supposed such a pledge in any respect. Before he sat down he would mention a practice which had been generally adopted, of stating in debate that the Measure of Union was one annihilating the Parliament of Ireland: the fallacy of that statement was unworthy of the abilities of those who used it. Parliament, said Mr. C. consists of the three Estates, the King, the Lords, and the Commons—that is, the People by their Representatives, chosen by themselves: by the system of Union talked of, the three Estates will continue to legislate for Ireland, namely, the King, the Lords of Ireland, by a number elected by and from themselves, and the Commons representing the People of Ireland, chosen by themselves; the Parliament of Ireland will therefore not be annihilated, though united and blended with another set of men constituting the Parliament of Great Britain; and this is equally true, whatever be the proportion of numbers, whether the numbers chosen in Great Britain be more numerous than those chosen in Ireland, or whether they were to be less numerous; or lastly, whether perfectly equal in number. In no case, therefore, can annihilation of the Parliament of Ireland be stated with any regard to accuracy; and the People of Ireland would, he trusted, be sufficiently aware of the misstatements made, and know that they were still to be governed by a Parliament so chosen by themselves, to represent them, and which was to legislate in conjunction with the British Parliament for Ireland, and at the same time for the whole of the Empire.

At ten the House divided.

Ayes for the Amendment,

96

Noes,

138

It was therefore rejected, and the Address unanimously agreed to.

TELLERS FOR THE AYES,

Sir Laurence Parsons, Bt. and Francis Savage, Esq.

FOR THE NOES,

Lord Loftus and the Rt. Hon. Denis Browne.

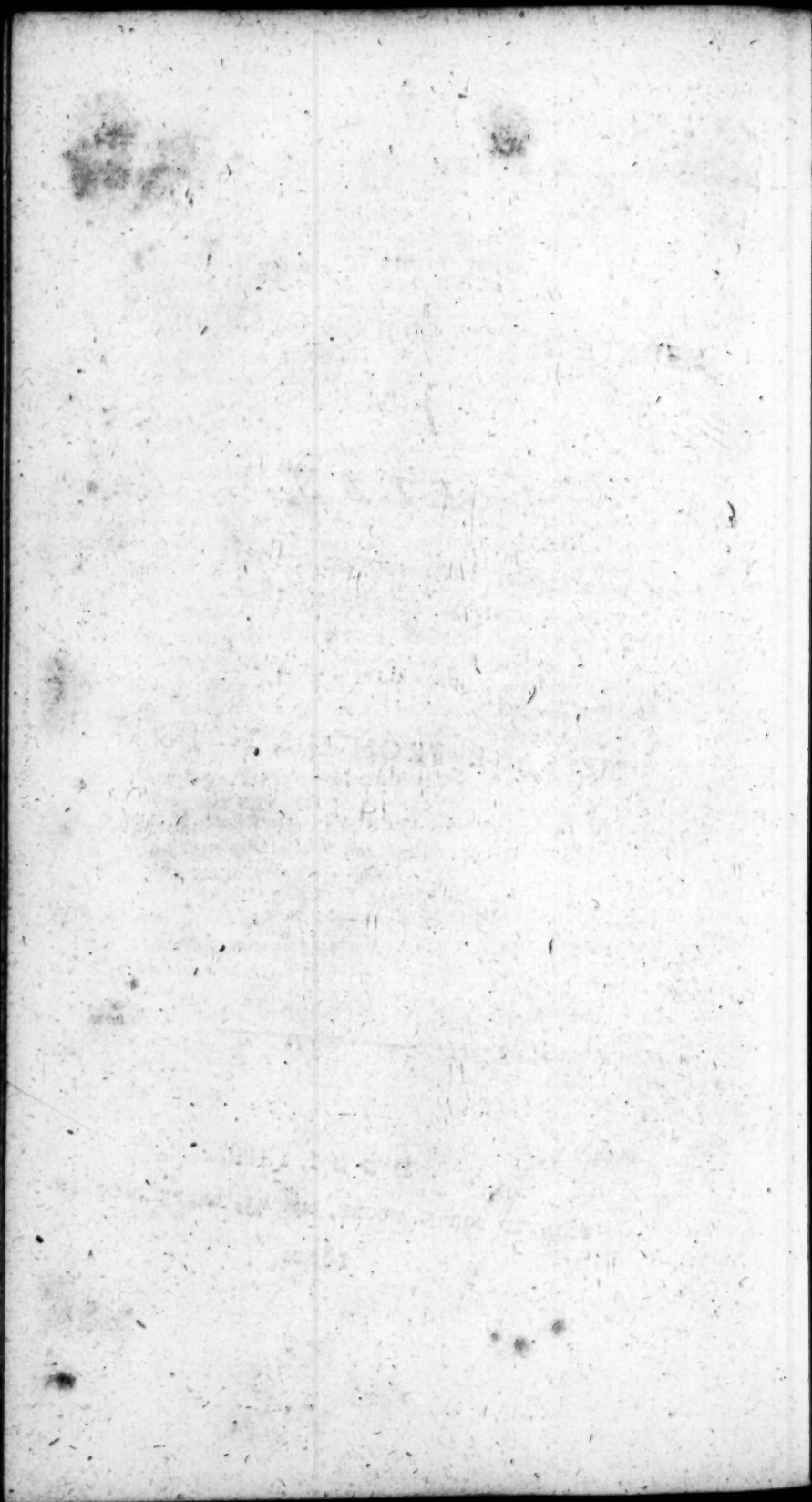
A
REPORT
OF THE
DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
OF
IRELAND,

ON WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY THE 5TH AND
6TH OF FEBRUARY, 1800.

ON DELIVERING A
MESSAGE FROM HIS MAJESTY
ON AN

UNION.

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THE

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1800.

MR. HENRY ALEXANDER brought in the Report of the Committee of Supply.

A Committee was appointed to inspect the Public Accounts.

Petitions against a Legislative Union with Great Britain were received from the counties of Dublin, Limerick, Wexford, Cavan, Longford, Tipperary, Galway, Meath and Fermanagh, as also from the city of Limerick and town of Belfast, and several others.

On the introduction of the Tipperary Petition,

Mr. BAGWELL (*one of the Representatives of that County*) declared, that notwithstanding the support he was induced to give the measure of a Legislative Union, on the first night of the Session, from the resolutions of a number of his respectable constituents, in favour of it, having been presented to him by the high sheriff; yet, on inspecting the list of names affixed to the Petition before the House, he observed so large a majority of the independence and property of the county, among whom he discerned the names of several who had before declared a different sentiment on the question, that he was now determined to oppose the measure whenever brought forward in Parliament.

Sir L. PARSONS stated to the House an act which he considered as the greatest enormity, an high infringement of the privileges of Parliament, and a violation of the liberties of the subject. He said he had it from a most respectable authority, which he named, that some time ago Major Rogers, who commands at Birr, having been told that there was an intention of assembling the free-

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holders

holders and inhabitants to deliberate on the propriety of petitioning against a Legislative Union, the major replied he would disperse them by force if they attempted any such thing; that the major, however, applied to Government for direction as to his conduct, and the kind of direction he received could only be judged of by that conduct itself. On Sunday last several magistrates and respectable inhabitants assembled in the session-house, when the high sheriff (Mr. Darby) went to them and ordered them to disperse, or he would compel them; they were about to depart, when a gentleman came and told them the army was approaching; the assembly had but just time to vote the resolutions, but not to sign them; they broke up, and as they went out of the session-house, they saw moving towards it a column of troops with four pieces of cannon in front, matches lighted, and every disposition for an attack upon the session-house, a building so constructed, that if the cannon had been fired it must have fallen on the magistrates and the people, and buried them in its ruins. A gentleman spoke to Major Rogers on the subject of his approaching in that hostile manner; his answer was, that he waited but for one word from the sheriff, that he might blow them to atoms!—These were the dreadful measures, Sir Laurence said, by which Government endeavoured to force the Union upon the people of Ireland, by stifling their sentiments and dragooning them into submission.—He proposed two resolutions to the House to the following effect:

1st. "That to prevent, by military force, the freeholders of any county from meeting to petition Parliament, is a gross violation of the privileges of this House, and a subversion of the Constitution.

2d. "That Verney Darby, Esq. and Major Rogers do attend at the bar of this House on Wednesday next."

Mr. BOWEN DALY seconded the motion. He reprobated such violent conduct, and hoped country gentlemen would make a common cause of it, and not suffer the constitutional right of Parliament and of the people to be thus trampled upon.

LORD CASTLEREAGH said that he had never before, either in his official or parliamentary capacity, heard a syllable of the matter now stated to the House. The Hon. Baronet who brought it forward ought to be certain of the truth before he stated a charge of such high importance: he ought to have come prepared with proofs of the fact alledged; but his manner seemed more calculated to inflame than to inform. He had assumed as fact, perhaps upon very slight authority, an outrage which every man must condemn if true; and then he had thought proper to impute to government the odium of this outrage. As to the first resolution, his Lordship said it would be derogatory to the dignity of Parliament to vote an acknowledged truism. No man, he trusted, would

would ever be found to deny the right of the subject to petition Parliament. If, indeed, the Hon. Baronet really believed the story, and wished to exhibit the truth to that House, the second resolution would perfectly answer that purpose; but the first was one of the many inflammatory tricks which had of late been frequently played off, and if now adopted, would seem to admit the fact alledged, by unnecessarily declaring a principle always and universally asserted.

Sir John PARNELL, Mr. OGLE, and Mr. J. C. BERRSFORD, all spoke against the enormity of the alledged offence; but they all agreed that the parties accused should be heard at the bar; and, upon the suggestion of those gentlemen, Sir Laurence Parsons withdrew his first resolution, and the second being put, passed unanimously.

The Right Hon. Lord Viscount CASTLEREAGH acquainted the House that he had a Message from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, which he read:

“ CORNWALLIS,

“ At the close of the last session, in obedience to the particular commands which I received from his Majesty, I acquainted this Parliament that a joint Address of the two Houses of Parliament of Great Britain had been laid before his Majesty, accompanied by Resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by the mutual consent of both Parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of Laws, Constitution and Government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections.

“ I have it now further in command from his Majesty to lay those Resolutions before this House, and solemnly to recommend to the consideration of his faithful Commons the great objects they embrace.

“ His Majesty has observed with increasing satisfaction that the sentiments which have continued to be manifested in favour of this important and salutary measure by such numerous and respectable descriptions of his Irish subjects, confirm the hope he has expressed, that its accomplishment will prove to be as much the joint wish as it unquestionably is the common interest of both his kingdoms, an event to which his Majesty looks forward with the utmost earnestness, as the only means by which the common interests of all his people can be indissolubly united, and their security and happiness can be permanently established.

“ His Majesty therefore relies on the wisdom of his Parliaments and the loyal concurrence of his people for the completion of
“ this

" this great work, with a firm persuasion that a full and unreserved participation of constitutional and commercial advantages will augment and perpetuate the prosperity of his subjects of his united Kingdom, and that under the favour of divine providence the freedom and power of the British Empire will be established on a foundation not to be shaken by the efforts either of its foreign or domestic enemies.

" C."

Lord CASTLEREAGH proceeded.—He said he felt it his duty upon this great subject to put the House in possession of the entire views of the British and Irish governments, and to lay before the House all those details which had been agreed upon to be submitted to Parliament.—In thus entering upon a detail so extensive and important—important to the restoration of tranquillity in this country and to the security of our connexion with Great Britain, he found it necessary to throw himself upon the indulgence of the House for a larger portion of its patience and attention than he had ever before presumed to solicit.—Before he entered into the general question, he would make one observation upon the topic to which the attention of the House had been just then so anxiously directed, the expression of the public sentiment.—By the British constitution the deliberative power was placed in Parliament, and Parliament would be very unwise were it not to take its direction from the great majority of those whose stake in the property and interests of the country gave them a claim to consideration; and also to suffer an artificial clamour to divert it from the first of all its duties, that of deliberating solemnly on measures affecting the interests of the country. Last year it was wished that Parliament would put this great question of Union into a course of deliberation and enquiry; the measure was not suffered to be laid before them, though it was only desired that a discussion of it should take place. Parliament was cautious of proceeding upon the question, and even a discussion was not permitted: Government felt it their duty then to say that they would not bring that measure forward, until its introduction should be justified by the public sentiment: and the event had justified the expectation of government. This question, as it had become more enquired into and better understood, became more and more popular with those persons most interested in the welfare of the country.—The great body of the landed property of Ireland was friendly to the principle, and the two Houses of Parliament particularly; 3-4ths of the landed property were amongst its supporters; 19 counties, 5-7ths of Ireland in superficial extent, had come forward in its support. He did not say that these counties were unanimous in approving the measure; complete unanimity was not to be hoped upon any great political question; but he would

would say a very great majority of those counties favoured the measure: all the great commercial towns in the kingdom, save Dublin and Drogheda, had declared in favour of it; and in speaking of the city of Dublin, he begged to be understood as speaking of it with that high respect which the zeal and loyalty of its inhabitants displayed in the great and trying circumstances of the rebellion commanded; he could not help observing that the citizens of Dublin were affected with the same alarm that those of the metropolis of Scotland felt on the Scottish Union; but he trusted that they would live to change their fears to satisfaction, and like the citizens of Edinburgh, have cause to be grateful to providence for the accomplishment of an Union with Great Britain.

His Lordship said, that he felt no surprise at observing in some counties an hostile disposition to this measure; they were counties in which he had expected such opposition, inasmuch as they were known to be under the influence of some of the gentlemen on the other side of the House;—but he could not help observing, since the last debate in that House, a political phenomenon new to this country; a part of the minority withdrawing themselves from Parliament, and not satisfied with exercising their deliberative powers within these walls, but assembling in another place, and empowering certain persons to send letters missive through the country, calling upon fit persons in the different counties to become their agents to bring the mass of the people of Ireland to the bar of that House, as advocates against the measure of Union. Some of those gentlemen, his Lordship said, he was convinced had never entertained a notion of employing this popular interference to intimidate Parliament, and he was equally convinced that had such an intention existed, the Commons of Ireland would not yield the country to any such desperate attempt; but some of the persons acting under these letters had gone forth with the most unwarrantable pretences, to deceive and distract the populace, whose signatures against the measure they wished to obtain.—In one place in the North, it was given out that this Union was a project of Mr. Pitt to lay a tax of five shillings on every wheel, and ten shillings on every loom; in another place, the tenantry were told that an Union was to break all their leases, and as all the great landed interests in the county of Down supported the measure, this was urged in an additional argument—“Do you not see that the landlords are for it, and is not that a proof that it is to break your leases?” Such were the deceptions and practices resorted to by those who solicited petitions against the measure. As to the petitions procured in this way, his Lordship said he was only surprised they were not more numerous. On the discussion of the Scotch Union, the table of the Parliament was day after day for three months covered

covered with such petitions; the Scots Parliament acted, as he trusted the Irish would do—they considered only the advantage of the country, and steadily pursuing that object, not misled by artifices, or intimidated by tumults, they received in the gratitude of their country that reward which amply compensated for the arduous task they had accomplished. As to the general principle of the question of Union, his Lordship felt it unnecessary at that time to enter into the discussion of it: it had been most freely investigated both in speaking and writing, and with peculiar ability, by an honourable and learned friend of his in his speech of the last session, which he had since published in a pamphlet, in which the general principle was placed beyond question or dispute. Had Parliament in the last session entertained the discussion of this measure, it was his Lordship's intention to have followed the course of proceedings marked upon the Scottish Union. He would have moved, when the general principle of Union had been acknowledged, that commissioners should be appointed to digest articles of Union, to be afterwards submitted for the adoption or rejection of Parliament. But as the discussion was not then permitted to take place in the Irish House of Commons, he would not now have recourse to this measure; he would move to have the subject and the papers relating to it referred to a committee of the whole House, by which means every Member would have the fullest latitude of discussion, and the House would have in particular the benefit of the advice and assistance of the Right Hon. the SPEAKER whom he addressed, an advantage which could not fail to be highly useful to the interests of the country. To this committee, his Lordship said he would offer certain resolutions, founded upon the principles of those voted by the British Parliament, but going more into detail, so as to form when agreed upon so many articles of the proposed Union. The case of our proceeding would then amount to this: Great Britain proposes to hold certain principles on which to found an Union; Ireland admits those principles, and proposes articles founded on them, on which articles, if the British Parliament shall agree, the articles of Union shall be founded, and formed by the agreement of both legislatures with a solemn legislative act. His Lordship here submitted the following propositions or articles:

FIRST RESOLUTION.

That in order to promote and secure the essential interest of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and

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on such terms and conditions, as may be established by the acts of the respective Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

ARTICLE I.

Resolved, That for the purpose of establishing an Union upon the basis stated in the resolutions of the two Houses of the Parliament of Great Britain, communicated by his Majesty's command in the message sent to this House by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, it would be fit to propose as the first article of Union, that the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord, 1801, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the royal stile and titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the said united kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns armorial, flags and banners thereof, shall be such as his Majesty, by his royal proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

ARTICLE II.

Resolved, That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the succession to the Imperial Crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the Imperial Crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the Union between England and Scotland.

ARTICLE III.

Resolved, That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be stiled the Parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

ARTICLE IV.

Resolved, That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that of the Peers of Ireland at the time of the Union, four Spiritual Lords by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight Temporal Peers for life, shall be the number to sit and vote in the House of Lords, and 100 Commoners, (viz. two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, and one for each of the thirty-two most considerable cities, towns and boroughs), be the number of representatives of Ireland in the House of Commons of the Parliament of the united kingdom; that for the same purpose such acts shall be passed by the Parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the Spiritual Lords and Temporal Peers, and the Commoners to
serve

serve in the Parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned or returned to the said Parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the Union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective Parliaments by which the said Union shall be ratified and established. That all questions touching the election of Peers of Ireland to sit in the Parliament of the united kingdom, shall be decided by the House of Lords thereof; and whenever there shall be an equality of votes in the election of Peers, the names of such Peers who have an equal number of votes in their favour, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the Clerk of the Parliament, at the table of the House of Lords, whilst the House is sitting; and the Peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the Clerk of the Parliament, shall be deemed the Peer elected. That any Peer of Ireland shall be capable of being elected as a Representative for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, provided that so long as such Peer of Ireland shall serve in the House of Commons, he shall not be capable of being elected to serve as a Peer on the part of Ireland, or be qualified to vote at the election of any Peer, and that he shall be liable to be tried as a Commoner. That it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create Peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, to make promotions in the Peerage thereof after the Union, provided the number of Peers shall not by such creation at any time, be increased beyond the number existing on the 1st day of January, 1801; and if any Peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such Peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing Peerage, and no Peerage shall be deemed extinct unless on default of claimants to the inheritance of such Peerage for the space of one year, from the death of the person who shall have been last possessed thereof; and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance to such Peerage, in such form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the House of Lords of the united kingdom, before the expiration of the said period of a year, then, and in that case such Peerage shall be deemed extinct, and a new Peer may be created, provided that nothing herein shall exclude any person from afterwards putting in a claim to the Peerage so deemed extinct; and if such claim shall be made good, no Peer shall be created to supply the place of the next Peerage which may be deemed extinct, after such claim being made good and established. That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, shall be decided in the same manner as questions touching elections on the part of Great Britain now are, or at any other time hereafter shall by law be decided, subject nevertheless to such particular regulations in respect of Ireland, as from local circumstances the Parliament of the

the said united kingdom may from time to time deem expedient. That all qualifications as to property, which are or shall be required by law of the members elected on the part of England by countries, cities, and boroughs respectively, to sit in the House of Commons of the united kingdoms, shall be required of the members to be hereafter elected to sit therein on the part of Ireland for places of the like description. That when his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure for holding the first or any subsequent Parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation do issue under the great seal of the united kingdom, to cause the four spiritual Lords and twenty-eight temporal Peers, and one hundred Commoners who are to serve in the Parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by an act of this present session of the Parliament is or shall be settled; and that if his Majesty, on or before the 1st day of January 1801, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the Lords of Parliament of Great Britain, and Commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain, should be the Members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the united kingdom, for and on the part of Great Britain; then the said Lords of Parliament of Great Britain, and the Commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain, shall be the Members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament thereof, for and upon the part of Great Britain. And his Majesty may, by his royal proclamation, under the great seal of Great Britain, appoint the said first Parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to meet at such time and place as his Majesty shall think fit, and the four spiritual Peers and twenty-eight temporal Peers, and hundred Commoners, who shall have been returned or elected to sit in the first Parliament of the united kingdom, in the event of such proclamation being issued as aforesaid, in the manner which shall be prescribed by an act of the present session of Parliament of Ireland, for regulating the mode by which the Spiritual Lords and Temporal Peers and the Commons to serve in the Parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned or returned to the said Parliament, shall be the members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, and the Lords of Parliament of Great Britain, and the four Spiritual Lords, and twenty-eight Temporal Peers of Ireland, being summoned and returned as herein before provided, and the members of the House of Commons of the said Parliament of Great Britain, and the hundred members for Ireland, such hundred members being elected and returned as herein before provided, shall assemble and meet respectively in the respective Houses of Parliament of the united kingdom, at such time and place as shall be so appointed by his Majesty, and shall be the two Houses of the first Parliament of

the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that Parliament may continue for such time only as the present Parliament of Great Britain might have continued, if the Union of the two kingdoms had not been made, unless sooner dissolved by his Majesty; and that every one of the Lords of Parliament of the united kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons of the united kingdom in the first and all succeeding Parliaments, shall take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declarations which are at present by law enjoined to be taken, and made and subscribed by the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain, until the Parliament of the united kingdom shall provide otherwise; that the said four Spiritual Lords to sit in rotation of sessions, and the said twenty-eight Temporal Peers to sit for life in the House of Lords of the Parliament of the united kingdom, shall have all privileges of Parliament which the Spiritual and Temporal Peers of Great Britain respectively now have, and which they or any Spiritual or Temporal Peer after the Union may enjoy, and the said four Spiritual Lords and twenty-eight Temporal Peers shall have the same right of sitting upon the trial of Peers as any other Spiritual Lords or Temporal Peers may enjoy; and in the case of the trial of any Peer during the adjournment or prorogation of Parliament, the said twenty-eight Temporal Peers shall be summoned in like manner, and have the same powers and privileges at such trial as any other Spiritual Lords or Temporal Peers of the united kingdom; and that all Spiritual Lords of Ireland, and their successors, shall have rank and precedency next and immediately after the Spiritual Lords of the same rank and degree of Great Britain; and that all Temporal Peers of Ireland shall, from and after the Union, have rank and precedency next and immediately after the Peers of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain at the time of the Union, and before all Peers of Great Britain who may be created after the Union, and shall be tried as Peers of Great Britain, and shall enjoy all privileges of Peers as fully as the Peers of England do now, or as any other Peers of Great Britain may hereafter enjoy the same, the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting on the trial of Peers excepted; and that all Peers for that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, created after the Union, shall have rank and precedency among the Peers of the united kingdom, according to the dates of their creation, and enjoy all the privileges which may be enjoyed by the Peers of Ireland as herein above specified and declared.

ARTICLE V.

Resolved, That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the churches of that part of Great Britain called England, and of Ireland, shall be united into one church, and the Arch-
bishops-

bishops, Bishops, Priests, &c. of the churches of England and Ireland, shall from time to time be summoned to, and entitled to sit in convocation of the united church, in the like manner, and subject to the same regulations as are at present by law established with respect to the like orders of the church of England; and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united church, shall be preserved as now by law established for the church of England; and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland, shall likewise be preserved as now by law established for the church of Scotland.

ARTICLE VI.

Resolved, 1. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places of the united kingdom, and its dependencies. And that in all treaties made by his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, with any foreign power, his Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing as his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

2. That from the said first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country to the other, shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export.

3. That all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, (not herein after enumerated as subject to specific duties) shall from henceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than such countervailing duty as is specified in the schedule No. 1, annexed to this article; and that the articles herein after enumerated shall be subject, for the period of twenty years from the Union, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the schedule No. 2, annexed to this article, viz.

Apparel	Glass	Paper, stained
Brass, wrought	Haberdashery	Pottery
Cabinet ware	Hats	Sadlery
Coaches	Hardware	Silk manufacture
Copper, wrought	Lace, gold and silver	Steel
Cotton	Millinery	Stockings

And

And that the woollen manufactures shall pay, on importation into each country, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland.

Salt and hops, on importation into Ireland, the duties which are now paid Ireland; and coals, in importation, be subject to the same burdens to which they are now subject.

4. That any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are, or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect to such internal duty or duty on materials; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said schedule No 1. should, upon importation into Ireland, be subject to the duty set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished or increased, in the manner herein specified; and that upon the like export of the like articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on the articles herein before specified on the import into the same country from the other; and that in like manner, in future, it shall be competent to the United Parliament, to impose any new or additional or countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear, on like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country; or if any new or additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country.

5. That all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, when exported through the other, shall in all cases, be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

6. That all duty charged on the import or foreign colonial goods into either country shall, on their export to the other, be drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the general expences of the Empire shall be defrayed by proportional contributions; provided nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition which exist with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour and biscuit, but that the same
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may be regulated, varied, or repealed from time to time, as the United Parliament shall deem expedient.

ARTICLE VII.

Resolved, That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland. That at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the united kingdom, other than the interest and charges of the debt incurred before the Union, shall be defrayed in such proportion as the United Parliament shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries, upon an average of three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries, on a similar average, viz. beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, malt, salt, and leather, or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both those considerations combined, or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce of the same period, of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed, on the same descriptions of income in both countries; and that the Parliament of the united kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules, or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years, from each other, unless previous to any such period, but subsequent to the 1st of January 1821, the United Parliament shall have declared, as herein after provided, that the general expences of the Empire shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries.

That for the defraying of the said expences according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, upon which charges equal to the interest of her debt, and sinking fund shall in the first instance be charged, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the general expence of the united kingdom to which Ireland may be liable in each year.

That the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will by these articles be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each kingdom respectively as the Parliament of the united kingdom

kingdom shall, from time to time, deem fit: provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country by which their respective proportions shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be liable to be taxed, to any amount exceeding that which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article.

That if at the end of any year any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportioned contribution and separate charges to which the said country is liable, either taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the United Parliament to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in her revenues in time of peace, or be invested by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland, in the funds to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland, at compound interest, in case of her contribution in time of war, provided the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions.

That all monies hereafter to be raised by loan, in peace or in war, for the service of the united kingdom, by the Parliament thereof shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions. Provided, that if at any time in raising the respective contributions hereby fixed for each kingdom, the Parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contribution in one kingdom within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole, or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country, than of that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions.

If at any future time the separate debts of each kingdom respectively shall have been liquidated, or the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each kingdom respectively, or where the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundred part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the united Parliament that the respective

pective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future general expence of the united kingdom, it shall be competent to the said United Parliament to declare that all future expence thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debt contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand, that from the period of such declaration it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future general expences according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules herein before prescribed: provided nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country is chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall until extinguished, continued to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country.

ARTICLE VIII.

Resolved, That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the united kingdom to require, provided that all writs of error and appeals which may at present finally be decided by the House of Lords of Ireland, shall, from and after the Union, be finally decided by the House of Lords of the united kingdom; and provided, that from and after the Union all Admiralty Jurisdictions be under the Lord High Admiral or Commissioners of the Admiralty of the united kingdom; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

SCHEDULE, No. 1.

Of the articles to be charged with countervailing duties upon importation into Great Britain and Ireland, respectively, according to the 6th article of Union, to which this schedule is annexed.

Articles

Articles to be charged with a countervailing duty in Great Britain.

Beer—Bricks and Tiles—Candles—Soap—Cordage—Printed Cottons—Cider—Glass—Leather—Paper, stained—Silk—Spirits—Starch—Sugar, refined—Sweets—Tobacco.

Articles to be charged with a countervailing duty in Ireland.

Beer,—Glass—Leather—Paper, stained,—Silk—Spirits—Sugar, refined—Sweets—Tobacco.

SCHEDULE, No. 2.

Of the articles to be charged, with the duties specified upon importation into Great Britain and Ireland respectively, according to the sixth article of Union, to which this schedule is annexed—Apparel—Brass, wrought—Cabinet ware—Coaches—Copper, wrought—Cotton—Glass—Haberdashery—Hats—Hardware—Lace, gold and silver—Millinery—Paper, stained—Pottery—Saddlery, and other manufactured leather—Silk manufactures—Steel—Stockings, ten per cent. on the true value.

Having thus gone through the outline of the plan, and after making several remarks, his Lordship said he had trusted he had stated enough to shew that the proposal was such a one as it was honest in Great Britain to make, and honourable for Ireland to accept; one which would remove those anomalies from the executive to which it was perpetually liable; one which would relieve the apprehensions of those who feared that Ireland should be satisfied with the expences of Great Britain, by establishing a just and fair principle of taxation from one which goes to discharge Ireland of the payment of one million of money in war, and half a million in peace, and which would place Ireland in such circumstances as would enable us to look at our situation with satisfaction, by making the church establishment one, and consolidating the legislatures of the empire. All present apprehension would be quieted, and future peace secured; the great question which has agitated Ireland would be put upon the broad principle of imperial policy, and divested of local prejudices, would be deliberately and maturely weighed, and such a representation would be established for the country as should give the nation such an interest in it, as to lay asleep for ever the dreadful question of Parliamentary reform, which, acting upon the religious divisions of the country, had produced such calamities to Ireland.

Rash, indeed, would be the man who could say the dangers which we have seen were entirely past: We had made great progress towards security, and it would become the serious consideration of gentlemen to reflect, that we owed the security to the firmness of character, the steadiness of mind, and the calm and undisturbed sagacity of the very man who now proposed this measure, that to his constancy at all times, and under the most tremendous

tremendous dangers, we owed the security in which we stood: We could not hope that such a man with such a mind could be always found to guide the British Councils: We should seize the advantages offered to us. This was the moment to strengthen the Irish constitution, by blending it with that of the great and powerful empire of Great Britain; and I trust, said his Lordship, that if at any future day the enemies of Britain and of mankind should again be let loose to afflict the social world, Ireland will be in such a commending situation as to bear in concert with the magnanimous empire of Great Britain the glorious task of again defending and restoring the liberties of Europe.

His Lordship then said it was his intention to move to have the papers which he had laid before the House printed and circulated.

Mr. G. PONSONBY—Sir, the Noble Lord, in introducing the subject now before the House, has divided it under several heads, through each of which I shall endeavour to follow him as exactly as I can.—I do certainly agree with the Noble Lord that this country exhibits at present a strong political phenomenon—it exhibits the phenomenon of a Minister who, in the last session of our Parliament declared that opposed as this measure was, he could not think of pressing it, until the sense of the People and the sense of Parliament should be manifestly in favour of it. It does exhibit the political phenomenon of a Minister who said it was due to the object itself and to the tranquillity of the country not to press the measure of Union, and it now exhibits the phenomenon of that very Minister pressing that very measure when not an independent or uninfluenced gentleman in this House has changed his mind on the subject, and the sense of the country is not only averse, but hatedly, decidedly, and hostilely averse to the measure. It exhibits the political phenomenon of a Chief Governor, the Representative of Majesty, appealing from the sense of Parliament to the lowest orders of the people—making the tour of Ireland to canvas in favour of a measure rejected by the Parliament of the country—that Parliament which so recently protected the Irish Crown, and, amid popular convulsion, and the tornado of rebellion, was the strong, the firm, and the saving bond of British Connexion. It exhibits the phenomenon of a Minister so using that Place bill, which was intended to preserve the purity and independence of Parliament, as to constitute such a Parliament as enables him again to bring forward a measure which received the honest condemnation of an honest Legislature.

The Noble Lord informs the House that he has been induced to urge this measure in consequence of the sense of the people being in its favour—that the resident property of the country is in its favour—that the resident property of the county Down,

which his Lordship represents, is in its favour—and that it is only opposed by a class of tenantry who tremble for their leases, and who are told, in support of this apprehension, that all the landlords are united to carry the measure into effect. What! Sir, does the Noble Lord pretend to say, that the landlords of the county Down are the advocates of an Union? Does the Noble Lord mean that the meeting regularly convened and held at Downpatrick, was attended by none but a tenantry trembling for the observance of their leases? Does the Noble Lord mean to say that the sense of the people of Ireland is in favour of the measure—and in proof of the assertion adduce the sense of the county Down? Why, Sir, I know it is possible for a man to say any thing. I know it is possible for a man coolly and confidently to assert what he neither believes himself nor can be believed by any other person—but the Noble Lord has shot beyond the mark of common credibility. Does he say that any of the resident landlords of that county appeared to express their dissent? No! no! bold as the Noble Lord has been in the use of assertion, he has not ventured to say this. But, Sir, the Noble Lord, it seems, is very angry at the means taken to oppose his measure, and certainly, Sir, it is every natural for the Noble Lord not to be over and above well pleased with those obstinate men who cling to the Constitution of their country, and harden their hearts against the blessings of a provincial state. The Noble Lord, Sir, accuses gentlemen of constituting themselves into a regular authority, and calling upon the people of the county to come forward against the Union, instead of being content to meet the question *quietly and handsomely*, and *orderly and prettily*, here on their seats in this House. Why to be sure, Mr. Speaker, it is a sad thing and a very *naughty* procedure, that the Minister is not suffered to have the country to himself, and his addresses and his individual signatures the uncontradicted representation of the national opinion. Truly, Sir, at any other time, and under different circumstances, I might agree with the Noble Lord that the measure which he censures would be extraordinary.—But, Sir, when I consider the state of the country—when I consider that it is hardly recovered from a terrible Rebellion—that Martial Law exists and that the Habeas Corpus act is suspended, I must say that the interference of men of rank, respectability, and property is necessary, in order to shew to the people the safety and the propriety of expressing, in a constitutional manner, their sense of a measure which would deprive them of Constitution, of liberty, of every thing dear and valuable to themselves and to their country. The necessity of this interference and example, Sir, cannot be questioned when these circumstances are considered, and further, Sir, when you have had this night the testimony of an Hon. Baronet, that military force was exerted to prevent a meeting, legally convened, on the subject.

ject of an Union. The Noble Lord says, that inflammatory arts have been used to create an opposition to this measure; if any such arts have been resorted to they ought to be reprobated—they merit severe animadversion—no honest man would use them. But, Sir, I will tell you what the Noble Lord dreads more than inflammatory arts, or any arts.—He dreads the honest uninfluenced expression of the public mind.—So much of the public sense has been already brought forward in the short opportunity which has been given, that he dreads the patriot uses which may be made of another week.

The Noble Lord forms his subject into the divisions of Finance, Commerce, Religion, and Representation. In detailing these heads, the first general ground upon which the Noble Lord contends for the necessity of a Union is upon the danger that under the present Constitution the Executive Power in the two countries may at some future period not be lodged in the same person; and in support of his argument he has alluded to the case of the Regency. If the Noble Lord seriously apprehends any danger on that ground, it is very singular that when a Right Hon. Gentleman brought in a bill for the purpose of enacting that a Regent chosen by England should be the Regent of Ireland, it did not meet with that Noble Lord's approbation, and the reason is obvious, because it would deprive him of one of his arguments in favour of an Union. But if there really exist such a degree of danger as the Noble Lord seems to apprehend, it is singular that it never before has occurred to the Ministers of Ireland, that it has never occurred to the Minister of England in the space of ten years, from the year 1789 to the present period.

The Noble Lord instances the case of James II. but does the Noble Lord imagine that if another revolution were to take place in England, the name and sound of an Incorporate Union would prevent the deposed Monarch from coming over to this country, and making the best hand which he could of the assistance which it would afford him? The law in such cases depends upon the dispositions of the People.—How comes it that in countries where no necessity for Legislative Incorporations and Unions existed—where the People were identified under one Government by geographical situation; by manners, name, interests, and prescription?—In France under the old monarchy—in England before the Unions, either with Scotland or Wales; and in Ireland before the period of 1782—how comes it, Sir, that all those countries and governments were afflicted by civil wars—agitated and arrayed in domestic hostility by difference of opinion on political subjects—Yet that which no identity of interests or government could prevent in other countries, is to happen here if we do not agree to swallow this quieting dose of an Union!

“ But

"But, says the noble Lord, an idea has been thrown out, that Mr. Pitt's object, in proposing a Legislative Union, is to take the purse of Ireland into his own hands; the fact, however, is the very reverse, and his great object is to save this country from expence, and to place all its burdens on British shoulders."

Why truly, Sir, this is a curious argument, and it would be somewhat curious, when the time comes (which I hope will never) to hear the English Minister address the people of Great Britain on the subject, and hear him describe the advantages—"People of England rejoice! Your present burthens are but light—you pay but few taxes—your national debt only amounts to four or five hundred millions sterling, the interest of which is not more than 18 millions a-year—your annual expences are not above 70 millions. Rejoice! then, People of England! for I will tell you what will lighten all your burdens—you will have the happiness, the glory, the magnanimity of bearing with the load of England, that of Ireland also?" Does the noble Lord seriously believe that Mr. Pitt is such an idiot as to hold forth such language to the people of England, or that such an argument could have any effect upon any rational man in Ireland? The noble Lord states that he regrets very much the two countries cannot bear an equal weight of taxation—I have no doubt, Sir, that he does regret it, deeply regret it—for, Sir, it is a very natural motive of concern to a Minister, that he cannot take as much money out of the people's pockets as he may wish to do.—It appears, Sir, by the articles stated by the noble Lord, that for the period of twenty years, Ireland is to defray 1-7th of the general expenditure of the empire, but at the expiration of that time the proportion of Ireland may be increased to any amount, for she is then to be taxed at the discretion of the United Parliament. All the advantage that Ireland can possibly gain by the adoption of this measure, is the saving of about 900,000*l.* a-year in war, and 400,000*l.* a-year in peace, and the question for the House to decide is, whether they will give up the Independence and Constitution of Ireland for such a consideration, were they inclined to put any pecuniary benefits in opposition to their liberties.

The next head is the commercial advantages which Ireland is to derive from an Union. His Lordship has talked much of the encouragement afforded by England to the linen trade of Ireland—but, Sir, I deny the statement of the noble Lord. The encouragement given to our linen trade we owe to no obligation but that of compact and mutual benefit—that encouragement was stipulated in return for the woollen manufacture wrested from us by the jealousy of England, when she took from us a manufacture that then yielded a revenue of 124,000*l.* per annum; it was undertaken to encourage the linen trade of Ireland—but what other linen trade would she encourage? Would England have had a
superior

superior interest in preferring the Russian, Flemish, and Dutch linen to those of Ireland? Will the noble Lord say this is a favour? It has been insinuated that the rejection of an Union will produce a commercial warfare. Does the noble Lord say so? He cannot—I laugh at the idea—for such an hostility would be still more injurious to England than to Ireland.—But the noble Lord says, that Dublin and Cork are to be made free ports. Does he mean that they will be free to all nations? No, Sir, he cannot mean that, and therefore must mean, not to give an advantage, but to suffer that which is already possessed. He means that when certain articles are stored, the duties are not immediately required or paid, but, are bonded—so this is all the benefit of a free port. Another thing, Sir—Does the noble Lord mean that no ports are to be free but those of Dublin and Cork? What have all the other ports done to his Lordship? What, Mr. Speaker, will they say to this exclusion from his Lordship's favour?—The noble Lord knows extremely well, that two ports being free would inevitably ruin the trade of all the rest; but, Mr. Speaker, all this parade of benefit may be resolved into two words—*fine sound* and *no meaning*. Another advantage to be derived from Union is the cheapness of coals—yes, Sir, we shall all warm ourselves most comfortably by our own fire-sides—why? for the most convincing and incontrovertible reason, because a duty of 5s. 6d. per chaldron, paid on the exportation of coals from Great Britain, is to be taken off and paid in Ireland! Here, Sir, is a way to make coals grow cheap, and of necessity to encourage our manufactures! Here is argument, which, I am sure, no man will attempt to answer. The noble Lord lays great stress on the exchange of raw material; but, Sir, on this head England is as much indebted to Ireland, as Ireland is to England. What if we refuse to send her yarn, hides, tallow, butter, beef, corn, &c. can, then, the noble Lord mean that in the event of a commercial warfare Ireland would suffer all, England nothing? No, he cannot mean it—so that the question of commerce has nothing to do with a rejection of the Union. But, Sir, a most singular advantage held out to Ireland to induce its acceptance of an Union, to relinquish its Parliament, and degrade itself, is that this same Union will entitle her to 2-15ths of the territorial revenue of Great Britain; now, Sir, I do not know any meaning to be attached to the term, unless it mean the possessions of a British Company in the East Indies—so then we are to be admitted to 2-15ths of 500,000l. promised by the East India Company, but which has never yet been paid—Ireland will actually be admitted to 2-15ths of this territorial revenue.—Oh! unlooked for benefit! wonderful sacrifice! It cannot but puzzle the people of Ireland how to estimate so extraordinary a favour. When asked for the hearth tax, the window tax, the income tax, and all the taxes which must follow the accomplishment

complishment of an Union, should they receive the united tax-master-general with reluctance and discontent, how prevailing and how consoling must his argument be when he shall say, "Poh! poh! don't mind these trifles—are you not admitted to 2-15ths of the territorial revenue of Great Britain? Can Ireland murmur at contributing one-seventh to the Imperial expences when she is so much enriched—2-15ths of a promised territorial revenue."

The Noble Lord has been pleased to say, that all the duties affecting the Channel Trade will be mutually settled—those differences I will tell the Noble Lord are but trifles—but such as they are, why not place them on a just, a friendly and equitable basis without an Union? Long before such a measure was in contemplation, this was promised to be done.—What is the mighty advantage of sending sail-cloth to England—but if it be advantageous, cannot it be done without an Union! Would the Noble Lord have it understood that no benefit, however small, is to be accorded to this country unless it accedes its Parliament and its name? As to the export trade, the position advanced is curious indeed, and we are gravely told, that the English merchant will quit his establishment—his ware-houses—his residence—his valuable and extensive conveniencies—and make this island the emporium of his trade; importing into it goods in order to export them again.—London, Bristol and Liverpool are to be depopulated, and their merchants are to fix their residence in this country.

The Noble Lord next proceeds to the Church Establishment—and, upon my word, on that subject his reasoning is somewhat extraordinary. "What a delightful thing, says he, it must be to the people of Ireland, to find their Church the same as that of England." Pray, Mr. Speaker, is it not so at present? A law to that effect was passed in the reign of Henry VIII. a monarch not much disposed to have his will questioned. This law was repealed in the reign of Philip and Mary, but was again renewed under Queen Elizabeth; and I believe, Mr. Speaker, has continued ever since in force. For my part, I can perceive no difference between the Church of England and the Church of Ireland. The 39 articles are the same—the creeds the same—the privileges and the power of the clergy the same. But, Sir, it seems that sameness is nothing without identity—an identity which is to leave us no Irish church, and which will transform all our Irish into English Bishops. Between the two churches, Sir, I can see no difference, except in the test law—and is it one of the benefits which are to result from an Union that of taking from the Presbyterians of Ireland the benefits of this act, and placing them on a footing with those of England? After some time, the Catholics are to be made easy; very well, Sir, but how? Will it be by their utter exclusion? Will they be delighted at the passing of an act which

will

will shut them out for ever from an equality of franchise? How is this identity of church to make the various description of Dissenters more satisfied? Will it be sufficient that they are told "You ought to be content, you have nothing more to desire, for the Parliament of Ireland has passed an act for identifying the two churches!" I fancy, Mr. Speaker, that all those fine words *indentification* and *consolidation*, will not have a very magical effect on the Irish Dissenter, unless some attending benefit is rendered more obvious to him. The Noble Lord talks of what was done in Scotland—but, Sir, he entirely misconceives the matter, for there it was quite different, and a special provision of the Union was for the prevalence of the Presbyterian church, of which the King of Great Britain is the acknowledged head.

The Noble Lord having disposed of the financial, commercial, and religious heads of the proposed Union, comes finally to that of Representation—and how does the Noble Lord dispose of it? The Legislating Irish Peerage is to consist of four Spiritual and twenty-eight Temporal Lords, and these are to be thus privileged for life. Unquestionably, Sir, these four Spiritual Peers

[Here Lord Castlereagh explained that the Spiritual Peers were to be by rotation.]

Mr. Ponsonby continued. What a pleasing and happy prospect does this explanation of the Noble Lord open to us! What a powerful and improving effect will this sending four Bishops by rotation to the British Parliament, have on Irish manners! How much more will they assist to the civilization of this country, than by remaining at home in their several dioceses! We read in the history of Greece, of great men travelling into the civilized countries of those days to learn their manners and communicate them to their countrymen. So will it be with our Bishops. We shall no longer look upon them as men devoted to spiritual drudgery—but as travelling moral philosophers, going each in his turn to collect blessings which he is to shower upon his native land—they will be relieved from all care about the state of the Church—and I should not wonder, Sir, if among other acts of civilization, they would instruct us in the art of dancing, and assimilate in their progress to Dr. Ratcliffe's students, as described by Pope—

"E'en Ratcliffe's pupils must travel first to France,

"Nor learn to practise, till they learn to dance."

Well, Sir, those rotated Spiritual Peers are to be accompanied by twenty-eight Lay Peers, it is however rather hard, Sir, that the whole duty of civilizing their country should fall upon the Spiritual Peers, and that the others should only have to civilize themselves. Would it not be better that the latter should also be transported by rotation, for a certain term, and not for life. But, Sir, it is asserted, that this regulation places them more out of the reach of influence than if exposed to the hazards of election.—Certainly, those who enjoy a privilege for life

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are more independent, as far as relates to that privilege—but are they, on this account, beyond the reach of all influence? Will they not now be the readier to vote for an Union, because their dignity is placed beyond the power of chance? But, Sir, we have not done with the wonders of the Peerage yet—it seems that a consequence of this Union will be, that Irish Peers will not be admissible to sit as English Commoners—Well, Sir, what is to be the result? To be made an Irish Peer has been conceived an honour, but when it comes in contact with positive benefits, will it any longer be valued?

It has been considered by a gentleman a pretty thing to be called—*My Lord*—to have supporters to his arms, and to have his wife called—*My Lady*—but when he finds that the title is to exclude him from the much greater honour of legislating for his country, will he not refuse, or relinquish it? At a time that Europe is struggling to support its institutions, and that this necessity of the struggle is the creed of Ministers, does the Noble Lord propose to disfranchise the Irish Peer—to disgrace the Irish Peerage? I hope, Sir, I shall never be an Irish Peer, but if I were, I should be the most insensible of beings if what has been said by the Noble Lord, did not rouse my pride, to the strongest and most generous efforts to preserve unimpaired the dignity which I enjoyed. Does the Noble Lord think this the way to support the Aristocracy of the Constitution? Should an act of Parliament pass for it, what shall be the title, what the preamble? In whatsoever terms it may be conceived, will it not express to this effect—“May it please your Majesty, you and your predecessors have been graciously pleased to confer certain dignities upon your Irish subjects—these dignities they are tired of—they despise your favours, and disclaim your honours, and now humbly beg your royal concurrence with this bill, enabling them to cast back the honours you have conferred upon them.” What a monstrous idea! what an unqualified and unexampled affront upon the whole Irish Peerage!

On the representation of the people, the Noble Lord says, that there shall be sixty-four Members for counties, two for Cork, two for Dublin, and one for the University—no alteration is made in the constitution of boroughs, though the Constitution of the Parliament and the country is overthrown—thirty-one Members for close boroughs will continue as at present. We shall lose our Parliament, but we shall preserve its defects. This the Noble Lord calls a popular representation. He does not think it prudent to trust Ireland with a representation so constituted, but he sends it to make what effect it can upon 558 English Members—but why does he do so? because the Noble Lord knows they can have no effect.—Here then is the history of your intended representation.—Let the People of Ireland hear the Noble Lord's arguments.

ments—let them estimate their consequence in the Imperial Parliament—his Lordship estimates it as a drop of water in the ocean ; as such, lost and merged, is to be the representation of Ireland after the Union. But what does the Noble Lord do with the remaining part of the Representatives of Ireland ? Does he expunge as useless the other seventy-five close boroughs ?—No—he purchases them—he buys the Representatives of the People with 1,500,000*l.* of the public money, to form a representation ineffectual to the public security and welfare. He asserts the competence of Parliament to dispose of the question of Union, and yet he shews that a large portion of the Representation can be purchased—that they are mere marketable commodity, and after being bought and sold like beasts of burthen, they are to dispose of the liberties of their country ! What a comprehensive system of corruption !—The Peers are to be purchased with a life privilege—the Bishops are to be rotated, that the Minister may have all the influence of the church—and the Commons are declared to be two-thirds a mere purchasable commodity ! Is this then an uninfluenced Assembly ? Is this competent to vote away the rights and liberties of the people ? All the arguments urged from this side of the House on the incompetency of Parliament, must sink before this greater argument of the Noble Lord, which places its incompetency in an unanswerable point of view. Why, Sir, I will say that it would be better for the Noble Lord, and give infinitely more validity to the act, to carry the Union by a majority of *one*, than to expose to the world such a corruption and profligacy of means as we have just now heard unblushingly avowed. Will the people of Great Britain say that such an act of such an Assembly can or ought to be obligatory on the people of Ireland—and should public discontents arise in consequence, will the people of England ever consent, in such a cause, to be made the instruments of force ? No ! it is not possible—they are too generous a people, and love liberty too well in their own persons to violate it in others.—The act the Noble Lord proposes condemns itself—nor could the Noble Lord have possibly foreseen the terrible effects of this part of his system—it could not have been meditated—difficulties arose, he hoped, to smooth them, and inadvertently proposes that which would be the parent of difficulties the most fatal and dreadful to the Empire.

Here, then, Mr. Speaker, are the effects of the Union—Your Peerage is to be disgraced—your Commons purchased—no additional advantage in commerce—for twenty years a little saving in contribution—but, Sir, if the Cabinet of England thinks that we contribute more than we should, why not correct that extravagance now ? If any thing should be conceded in the way of trade, why is it not conceded now ?—Are any of those benefits incompatible with our present state ? No—but the Noble Lord

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wants to carry his Union, and no favour—no benefit, however trifling, can be yielded to us, unless we are willing to purchase it with the existence of Parliament and the liberties of the country.

There is one point more, Mr. Speaker, which I cannot pass by, and if Swift were alive, it would afford to his pen a subject more ridiculous than ever exercised his satirical genius. Should a contested election take place here, and a petition be preferred to the Imperial Parliament, will the witness go to Westminster? No! Is Westminster to come to him? No! but that foolish and despised proportion of the Westminster Parliament which we shall send to look at British Legislation.—Those hundred Irish Knights, who will be a kind of privileged auditors, they will be suffered to ballot for twelve men from among themselves to try the merits of the disputed election; Is this joke, is it insult, or is it common nonsense for want of something else to say? Let us suppose some great question to come on, and let us suppose six or eight controverted elections, the whole representation of Ireland would be transported back again to this country. During the trials by which they are occupied, suppose a question of Imperial contribution to arise in the Parliament at Westminster, it may chance that one English Member, consulting decency and justice, would rise and say, that the sense of the Irish Representatives ought to be expressed on the subject. What will be the answer? "Oh! no! it cannot be—they are all in Ireland, trying who among them have a right to sit here—and when they have determined that point, we will tell them what we have done, and no doubt agree to the measure, for, you know, if they were even present, they could not prevent it." On this head, Sir, the Noble Lord has approved himself indeed an Irish Legislator as far as an Irish blunder establishes the fact; but however, this, like other Irish blunders, may be subject of English gratulation and pleasure, for should any one of our Irish Representatives in the United Parliament prove troublesome to the Minister—perhaps some meddling, hot-headed, and obstinate man like myself, these need no more to get rid of him, than to have him petitioned against. I do declare, Mr. Speaker, there is something so laughably absurd in this part of the Noble Lord's plan, that it seems more adapted to childish sport, than for adult and rational discussion.

I have now, Sir, gone through the whole of the Noble Lord's system of Union, as well as I was able, and the gentlemen of Ireland have now clearly before their eyes the advantages of this measure. They have heard the Minister first declare the mockery of Irish representation, and then desire it, in one act, to transfer its own powers, and to destroy the liberties of the People! Sir, I confess I had all along the strongest objection to entertain this question, and still more to discuss the terms of Union, but that objection

objection is now no more, for, Sir, I will not think so poorly of the intellect and honourable feeling of this House, as to suppose it can ever accept those terms. I cannot bring myself to believe that any man of sense in Ireland could be induced for such wretched and fallacious considerations to relinquish, and for ever, the liberties of his country.

Sir JOHN PARNELL said, that after the very able speech of the Hon. Gentleman, it would not be necessary for him to trespass long upon the patience of the House. It had been contended, that Ireland must gain in a pecuniary point of view, because her expences would only be in the proportion to those of England, as 1 to 7; but this was a very fallacious mode of reasoning; for, as the expences of England encreased, those of Ireland must encrease also; and at the expiration of 20 years, Ireland would be entirely at the mercy of the United Parliament, to be taxed to whatever extent they thought fit; but, even if this project was calculated to procure commercial advantages to Ireland, yet when it so obviously attacked their independence, he was sure they would not agree to it. He was extremely sorry to hear the Noble Lord talk of buying Boroughs; it was the most unconstitutional project, and the most calculated to degrade Parliament; that the ingenuity of man could devise. Before the terms of this Union were stated, Gentlemen might entertain some doubt, but it appeared to him almost impossible for any man now to hesitate to give them his most decided opposition. It had been said that a Union would tend to ameliorate the situation of the Catholics; but he could not see that it would have any such effect; he did not think that it would be of any advantage either to one Religion or to the other. The Noble Lord had asserted, that the sentiments of the public upon this subject had changed, and that they now wished for an Incorporate Union with Great Britain: he totally differed with the Noble Lord; he believed the great majority of the people of Ireland were decidedly averse to a Union—if he thought otherwise, he should not oppose it. But if the Noble Lord wished to try the public opinion upon the Question, let him appoint a Select Committee to enquire into the business; let Parliament be dissolved, and then the People would speak their sentiments by the Representatives they would choose. If Government did not adopt this plan, he should certainly move for an Address to his Majesty, praying him to dissolve Parliament, and then it would be seen whether the majority of the Electors of Ireland were inclined to a Union or not.

Mr. DOBBS.—Sir, I rise to make my solemn protest against entertaining even for a moment, this message from the British minister, delivered under the usurped name of Majesty. I say the usurped name of Majesty, for it would not be decent in me to suppose, that
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that identical monarch, who guaranteed the Constitution of 1782, should in the year 1800 desire this House to annihilate itself, and at the same time surrender the independence of Ireland.

Sir, on the first day of the sessions the noble Lord declared that many Gentlemen who were friends to the Union had vacated their seats, by accepting places of profit under the crown; and the chief reason assigned for the adjournment to Monday last, was that they might be re-elected. From the numbers who have within these three days taken their seats, I do suppose the noble Lord is now attended by all his forces; and that is the very period at which I wish to deliver my sentiments on this momentous subject. He relies on his numbers, no matter how obtained, but I trust in the truth and justice of my cause. I cannot enter into the secret thoughts of the noble Lord, and therefore, I will not say whether he be acting on mistaken, or corrupt motives. I hope for his own sake that he is only mistaken, and if so, I do not despair before I sit down, of flashing conviction on his mind, and of planting contrition and repentance in his heart.

Sir, amidst all the fallacy and misstatement of the British minister, in that speech which has been so industriously circulated here, there is not any thing more insulting to my understanding, than the assertion, that the adjustment in 1782 was not final and conclusive, as to Constitution. When you, Sir, had an opportunity last sessions, of giving your opinion, you read from the Journals, the Duke of Portland's message from his Majesty, requiring this house to take into consideration, what would make such a final adjustment as would give mutual satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. You read from the Journals, the answer of Parliament, stating to the King, that there was no body of men competent to make laws to bind Ireland, except the King, Lords and Commons thereof; and at the same time demanding the repeal of the British Act of the 6th Geo. I. as a relinquishment for ever, of any claim in a British Parliament. And you stated truly, that the simple repeal of that law not being deemed sufficient by numbers in this country, the British Parliament made a law, solemnly renouncing for ever any right to bind Ireland. All this is proved by the records of the two Parliaments, and yet the British Minister, dares to say, that a final adjustment as to Constitution, did not take place between the two countries. If these solemn acts required corroboration or explanation, what does the able and eloquent champion of 1782, who took his seat in this House towards the close of the last debate, tell you? He tells you, that in the intercourse with the Irish administration of that day, the object of Ireland was finally settling her constitution. The object of England, was to prevent her going further. This Sir,
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I also know to be the fact, for though not then in Parliament, I took an active part without these walls, in that transaction. And as no one has touched on a few things that are within my knowledge, I shall state them to the House. The Volunteers of Ireland having gained sufficient strength to preserve tranquillity at home, and to defy all hostile invasion, turned their thoughts to the degraded state of their country. The Hon. Member, whom I have already alluded to, had in vain pointed out that state, in Parliament. Some other able men both within and without these walls, had done the same; and at length our situation was fully understood, not only by the Volunteers, but by almost every man in the kingdom. At the different Volunteer reviews, resolutions were entered into, declaring our right to a free constitution. Other bodies of men, not in arms, did the same.

But the Parliament, under the influence of the British Cabinet, persisted in rejecting every motion that was made in favour of Irish Emancipation. Such was the state of the politics of Ireland, when the Armagh Southern Battalion called the 1st meeting at Dungannon: and I cannot better point out the then temper of the nation, than by reading to you their resolutions. "First Ulster Regiment commanded by the Earl of Charlemont. At a full meeting, held at Armagh, on Friday the 28th December, 1781, of the officers and delegates of the Southern Battalion of said Regiment, consisting of eleven companies, pursuant to adjournment, Francis Evans, Esq. in the chair. The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be printed in all the newspapers published within the province of Ulster, and in the Volunteer Journal of the City of Dublin. Resolved, that with the utmost concern, we behold the little attention paid to the constitutional rights of this kingdom, by the majority of those, whose duty it is to establish and preserve the same. Resolved, that to avert the impending danger from the nation, and to restore the constitution to its original purity, the most vigorous and effectual methods must be pursued, to root corruption and court influence, from the legislative body. Resolved, that to open a path towards the attaining of this desirable point, it is absolutely requisite, that a meeting be held in the most central town of the Province of Ulster, which we conceive to be Dungannon, to which said meeting every volunteer association of said Province is most earnestly requested to send delegates, then and there to deliberate on the present alarming situation of public affairs, and to determine on, and publish to their country, what may be the result of said meeting. Resolved, that as many real and lasting advantages may arise to this kingdom, from said intended meeting, being held before the present session of Parliament is much farther advanced, Friday the 15th day of February next, at 10 o'Clock in the forenoon,

noon, is hereby appointed for said meeting, at Dunganon as aforesaid."

Sir, I must here call to your recollection, and to the recollection of many members of this House, what was then the relative situation of England and Ireland. All the efforts of the first to enslave America had proved ineffectual. There the efforts of the Noble Marquis, who now governs in this Country, failed, as they will do here. A French and Spanish fleet had then done, what they had never done before; they had rode triumphant in the British Channel: and England, exhausted in men and money; had not more than three thousand men in Ireland, commanded by men, who bore the King's commission. But what was then the proud state of Ireland? A body of sixty thousand men and upwards, self raised, self disciplined, self clothed, self paid, and for the most part self armed. A body of men as remarkable for their good conduct, as their spirit. A body of men who possessed all the affections of the people. A body of men, who must at that day, have carried whatever they demanded. A body of men, who if they had willed to separate from Great Britain, could have effected it. A body of men, who if they had willed the downfall of monarchy, could have established a republic. The British ministry knew it, and trembled. The Irish administration knew it, and trembled. But fortunately for England—fortunately for Ireland—there was then a man, who is alas! no more, who possessed the most unbounded influence, over the glorious army of freemen. Fortunately there was then a man whose cultivated mind, whose engaging manners, and whose enlarged heart, attached to him, all who knew him. Fortunately there was then a man, whose whole political life, had been governed by one steady principle of a pure and disinterested patriotism. Fortunately there was then a man, whose private and whose public virtues, and whose talents, had raised him to be in fact the generalissimo of the volunteers of Ireland. Need I add that fortunately for England, fortunately for Ireland, there was a Charlemont.

The calling of the first Dunganon meeting was totally unknown to the field officers of the Southern Battalion and to Lord Charlemont. When he read their resolutions he saw and felt in a moment the critical situation of his country. To direct the volunteers so as to regain the Constitution of Ireland—so as to preserve the connexion with England—and so as to prevent anarchy and confusion, filled all his mind. Thus situated, he called to his councils the Hon. Member whom I have before styled the champion of the Constitution of 1782, and he called to his councils that great and able senator, the late Mr. Flood. It was in Lord Charlemont's house, that all the resolutions carried at the first Dunganon meeting which related to the Constitution were settled; this I do know, for I was present at their deliberations, so was an honourable

honourable member I see in his place. I was present, because as Major of the Armagh southern battalion, I was to move those resolutions at Dungannon. That which openly asserted the independence of Ireland, and which was afterwards carried there, I shall now read to you:—"Resolved unanimously, that a claim, of any body, of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance." Sir, the address from the delegates of the volunteers of Ulster to the minority in Parliament at that time, is so short, so pithy, and so applicable to the present day, that I shall also read it:—"To the Right Hon. and Hon. the minority in both Houses of Parliament. My Lords and Gentlemen, We thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts, in defence of the great constitutional, and commercial rights of your Country.—go on—the almost unanimous voice of the people is with you, and in a free country, the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our sovereign, and are loyal—we know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free—we seek for our rights, and no more than our rights, and in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence, if we doubted of success." Sir, to the old members of this House, I need not say that the Dungannon resolutions were echoed through the kingdom, but let me inform the younger members, that all the volunteers, and every description of men, adopted them—one soul animated all, and with a voice not to be resisted, they called for the independence of Ireland; it hastened the fall of Lord North, and drove him from his place. The Marquis of Rockingham succeeded him as prime minister of England, and Lord Carlisle was recalled from the government of Ireland, and the Duke of Portland, who I trust will never again be sent to Ireland, was appointed in his stead. Now will any man be hardy enough to say, that the demand of the Irish people was not final adjustment as to the Constitution? Will any man be hardy enough to say, their demands were not acceded to, and fully understood by the English Administration? But a word or two more on that subject.—After the addresses of Parliament in answer to his Majesty's message, and before any thing further was done, it was thought right to call the delegates of the Ulster volunteers again together, in order to lay before them the then state of public affairs. At the first Dungannon meeting only 143 corps were represented, but at this second meeting there were deputies from 306, representing upwards of 28,000 men. I had the honor of moving on the occasion, an address to his Majesty which was unanimously carried, and I with four other officers were directed to present it to the King. This address I will read to you, so far as it relates to the Constitution, because it shows you how all the volunteers

teers of Ulster understood the transaction, and because from the manner we were received at St. James's it proves, how well pleased the English Administration was, to stop the progress of Irish demands, by giving her, what she had a right to, her free Constitution.—“ Most gracious Sovereign, with the most unfeigned attachment to your Majesty's person and family, we approach your throne. You are our true and lawful Sovereign, and we trust, that every act of ours will evince, that we are your faithful and loyal subjects. The addresses of the Irish Parliament having disclaimed any power or authority of any sort whatsoever, in the Parliament of Great Britain over this realm, we shall consider an unqualified and unconditional repeal of the statute of the 6th. of George I. by the British Parliament, made in pursuance of the said addresses, a complete renunciation of a principle hostile to the rights of Ireland, and of all the claims contained in the said statute, and as such we will accept and deem it satisfactory. Thus united by the sacred bond of freedom, we request our gracious Sovereign to assure our sister kingdom that we will be sharers in her fate, standing or falling with the British Empire.”

Sir, we who carried this address to England, were treated as such messengers deserved, with the most marked and peculiar attention. Besides what is commonly called being most graciously received, we were presented in our volunteer uniforms, and though we had no commissions from the King, we were gazetted with our volunteer rank. As the ambassadors of peace we were splendidly entertained by the Marquis of Landsdowne, then Lord Shelburne, and who had succeeded on the death of the Marquis of Rockingham to be prime Minister. We were also entertained in our capacity as military men, by General Conway, the then commander in chief. And as private gentlemen, we were offered the rank of Irish Baronets, which we chose to decline. It is monstrous to think, that whilst every act of both Parliaments—whilst every act between the Volunteers of Ireland, and the English and Irish administrations was holding out final settlement as to Constitution, a secret plot was formed to destroy it. It is monstrous to think that such a man as the Duke of Portland on whom Ireland relied, was meditating her destruction. And yet this black perfidy appears from a correspondence, published and avowed by the present administration, of which that very Duke of Portland, is a member. Sir, the transactions of those days, speak with a thousand tongues, against our intrusting Irish happiness, to a British Ministry, or a British Parliament. The transactions of those days, as well as the transactions of the present, warn us in a voice of thunder, not to give up our own Legislature. If the British Minister, instead of offering what the Noble Lord has stated, had offered to pay our national debt—had offered to take

take off all our taxes, and pay all our establishments out of the British treasury, on the terms of our accepting a Legislative Union, I would reject it, because he could give me no security. If the Noble Lord instead of proposing to make two ports in Ireland free to receive certain specified articles, had offered to make Ireland what her situation points out, a free port to the world, I would reject a Legislative Union, because he could give me no security, for the performance of such engagements. If we were to pass a Legislative Union, we would be from that moment, under the absolute power of a British Minister and a British Parliament. It is a mockery to say that twenty-eight lay and four spiritual Peers, seated among two hundred nobles of another country, could give any security to the happiness or liberties of Ireland. It is a mockery to say, that one hundred members, seated among five-hundred and fifty-eight Commoners of another country, could give any security to the happiness or liberties of Ireland. No Sir, these Peers and these Commoners instead of being securities for either, would become, the devoted followers of the British Minister, and in return they would be rewarded with the patronage of Ireland. They would become at once the bane of their own country, and the ready instruments in the hands of the British Minister, to destroy the little, he has left, of the British Constitution.

Sir, every man who reflects for a moment, must see, that if this Legislative Union were to pass into a law Ireland must be enslaved, because she must in future be governed by a Legislature, over which she can have no possible controul. But I will for the sake of argument suppose, that the tyrant would keep faith with the slave. I will suppose that the majority of the people of Ireland were at present for this law. I will suppose that as soon as it passes, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act may be taken away. I will suppose that all our late acts, that are contrary to liberty, would be repealed. I will suppose that the military establishment would be reduced again to 12,000 men and that Martial Law would be withdrawn. I say Sir, that even supposing all these fictions to be realities, yet still, inevitable ruin must be the consequence of a Legislative Union. All the Peers, who were made Peers of England, we must reasonably believe would reside in England. The 28 Peers who were elected for life, we must reasonably believe would reside in England. The 100 Commoners, we must reasonably believe would reside in England, and as they are to be the representatives of counties, and populous towns and cities, they would necessarily be some of the greatest landholders in Ireland. Sir, if not a man was to remove on account of this legislative Union, but those who were to sit in the Imperial Parliament, the additional drain of money from this country must inevitably bring on poverty

and ruin. But it would not be merely those, whose duty obliged them, that would settle in England. All the first families of the land would accompany them. Used to high and polished society, they would go where alone they could afterwards find it. Looking out for matches for their sons and their daughters, they would leave a land, where what they deemed suitable ones, could not be met with. They would no longer place their sons in an Irish University, where they could form no beneficial connexions; but English education would be resorted to. What then, must be the inevitable consequence, of this vast emigration, of the great landholders of Ireland? How would our infant manufactures flourish, when those who have been hitherto the great consumers of them are spending their fortunes in another country? How would the working men of every description find employment, when all who were best able to employ them were removed from this land? What would become of all those, who have been in the habit of making articles of dress and luxury, or in any way employed in arts not absolutely necessary? In short every thing that ornaments a country, and gives energy to talents, and industry, would be destroyed—but besides the inevitable evils that arise, from the great incomes of the country being spent out of it, all the great pillars that support a free government, would be taken away. Gentlemen of large income resident on their estates, by their hospitality attach to them the neighbouring gentlemen of small fortunes; and thus in fact secure their support to the state. By the great landed lords and gentry residing on their estates, they also set examples of improvement to their tenants, and by occasional kind offices, secure their affections. It was chiefly owing to these circumstances, that such a body of loyal Yeomanry was lately formed, and who in fact put down the late rebellion. But what would become of this country in any future emergency, if agents, with pittances, that can only give bread to their families, are substituted, in the place of resident landlords? Where will be the medium that secures the attachment of the middling gentry to the state? Where will be the affections of the tenantry to their landlords, when the only intercourse between them, will be the payment of money by the one, and the passing a receipt by the other? What would then keep down the people, when they began to feel the misery and poverty that must follow the absence of the great landholders? Why Sir, England must in such a situation have recourse to military force and martial law. Thus do I reason on the supposition that those fictions relied on by the friends of a Union were realities. But away with fiction, and let us view the country as it actually stands. Look at the numerous petitions already presented against this abominable measure, and think of those, that you know are on their way. I do not hesitate to say that the great mass of the people, are the decided enemies of
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a Legislative Union. Let the Noble Lord ask the loyal Yeomen of the kingdom to give their opinions, and I will be bold to say nineteen in twenty are against a Legislative Union. Let the Noble Lord take the opinions of the householders of Ireland by parishes, and I will be bold to say nineteen in twenty will be found against the measure. Let the Noble Lord dissolve the Parliament, and call another for the express purpose, of considering the question of Union, and I will be bold to say there would not be five counties in the kingdom, and I think it is still more probable there would not be one, that would not bind their representatives, to vote against a Legislative Union. What signify a few addresses for Union obtained as they have been? If the Noble Lord wishes to know the opinion of the kingdom it is easily obtained. But before he goes on, against the voice of the nation, let him ask himself a few questions. Does he in his conscience believe a Legislative Union, will make one disloyal man loyal? Does he not in his conscience believe, that many who hitherto would have supported the connexion with England with their blood, will change their opinion if this law passes, and look at Separation as the only alternative between slavery and freedom? Sir, I think it requires but little sagacity to see, that if this be passed into a law, there will soon be but one mind in the kingdom, except with the immediate dependents on government, and a few mistaken individuals, and that mind will be adverse to England. Pass then this law, and England will afterwards have no choice how she is to govern Ireland. She must govern it by an immense military force, and by martial law. She cannot take off the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. She cannot repeal the laws against meetings of the people, and all the various other laws that the sad necessity of the times has required, but which are totally contrary to liberty. What Englishman then will leave a land of freedom, and settle in a land of slavery? What Irishman will remain here, whose circumstances will allow him to quit it? What will be the inevitable consequences of military government, and martial law? Did commerce ever thrive under a military government?—Did manufactures ever thrive under a military government? Did agriculture ever thrive under a military government? No Sir, pass this law, and we will go down more rapidly than we have risen since 1782. Pass this law, and both you and I will probably live to see what we have before seen. Instead of exporting a millions worth of corn in a year, over and above our own consumption, we shall again see the inhabitants of the north, depending for the bread they are to eat on the arrival of ships from America laden with flour. We shall again see the linen cloth nearly our only manufacture: and we shall again see our country a land of pasturage, from which our chief exports,

exports, would again be our beef, our butter, and our raw materials.

Sir, if I am well informed, this foul measure has been attempted to be supported by as foul means. Will the Noble Lord get up, and say upon his honour, that it has not? Will the Noble Lord get up and say upon his honour, that the church establishment, the revenue establishment, the military establishment, and every dependant on government, were not employed to procure subscribers, by threats and promises, to the few addresses that have been obtained in favour of a Union? Will he declare upon his honour, that he does not believe, there is a man in this House, who has the people's money in his pocket, paid him out of the public treasury, to vote for this Union? Will he declare upon his honour, that no money has been paid to any man to vacate his seat, who could not be brought to vote for the measure, in order that a Unionist should be returned in his place? Will he declare upon his honour that those men who thus come in, to vote away their seats before they are well warmed in them, are neither to receive money, place or preferment for their services? Will he declare upon his honour that no British Peerages have been promised, in order to get votes for this measure? Will he declare that no Irish Peerages have been promised for the same purpose? Will he declare upon his honour, that all who hold places under government, are free to vote as they please without the fear of dismissal? No, no, he will make no such declarations. But if he did, there are facts that blaze in all the glare of day. We behold a Right Honourable Member who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, dismissed from his office because he would not betray his country. We behold a Right Hon. and Learned Member dismissed from the office of Prime Serjeant, because he would not betray his country. We behold Hon. Members, who were Commissioners in the Revenue and Barrack boards, dismissed from their offices, because they would not betray their country. And we know that even the office of Curitor to the Court of Chancery, was taken from an Hon. Member because he dared to do his duty.

Sir, I do hope for the Noble Lord's sake, that I have forced conviction on his mind. I do hope for the Noble Lord's sake, that I have planted contrition and repentance in his heart. I do hope for the Noble Lord's sake, that he is now meditating how he can get over the assurances he made the British Minister, that he would carry it into effect. I will tell the Noble Lord it is almost more honourable to retract an error, than never to have committed one. I will tell the Noble Lord there are engagements, it is more honourable to break than to perform. Had the Noble Lord rashly engaged to assassinate an individual, would he, when he coolly reflected on it, keep such a promise? And if he has rashly

rashly promised to assassinate the prosperity, the happiness, and the liberties of his country, ought he to hesitate in flying from such an engagement?

Sir, I have more than once in this House expressed, that I had a personal regard for the Noble Lord. The dawn of his youth deserved, and received it: and perhaps at this moment I wish him better than all the men who now surround him. If it be riches that he is to receive for his services from the British Minister, let me assure him, that wealth so acquired, will not bestow happiness. If it be additional honours that he is to receive for his services from the British Minister, let me assure him, the hereditary coronet to which he is entitled will sit lighter on his brow, and more adorn his head, than any new one thus to be acquired. If he wishes to sleep on a bed of down, let him abandon this measure, and repose in peace, amidst the blessings of his countrymen. But if he persists, I forewarn him, he will meet with disappointment; and instead of a bed of down, he will make for himself a bed of thorns.

O thou God of Truth, in whose awful presence I stand, and at whose altar I worship, let me not be in error, whilst I am warning others against error. If a Legislative Union would give happiness to Ireland, take away the mist from before my eyes, and let me perceive it. But, if I see a Legislative Union in its true point of view, O then, let me implore Thee to enlighten the understandings of those who uprightly, but mistakingly, differ from me. Let me implore thee to strike the hearts of those with remorse, who think as I do, but who have bartered their principles, to gratify their avarice, or their ambition. Let me implore Thee to touch the hearts of those who think as I do, yet meditate to vote against their opinions, from the dread of losing their employments. Let me implore Thee to touch the hearts of all with the sacred love of country, that truth may prevail within these walls.

Sir, how this measure is to be defeated, is yet within the womb of time; but I feel it can never pass into an operative law. The fate of nations and of empires is not in the hands of man. It is not the will of a British Minister that can rob Ireland of her newly acquired rights. What! shall this island, more favoured by nature than any other spot on this habitable globe, be for ever plundered and oppressed? No—the day is at hand, when she shall enjoy all the benefits designed her by the Almighty Creator. The day is at hand when, instead of being the slave, she shall be the kind and powerful supporter of British happiness and British liberty. I tell you, Sir, the hand of God has marked this country for his own. It was not for nothing that the harp of David, with an angel its front, was made the arms of Ireland. It was not for nothing that the apostolic crown is the crown of Ireland.

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It was not for nothing that the serpent, and every venomous creature, has been banished from this land. *I tell the Noble Lord, I tell you, Sir, and this House—and I proclaim it to the British and Irish nations, that the Independence of Ireland is written in the immutable records of Heaven.* I shall therefore vote against going into this Committee.

Col. VEREKER—After the manly, eloquent and impressive manner this question has been debated by my honourable friends, it is almost presumption to add another word upon the subject, because, if the minister was not determined to persevere in persecuting the country, he would long ago have abandoned a project which he has been so shortly shewn to be detrimental to the interests of Ireland, to be inimical to the sentiments of the landed property of the kingdom, and odious to the people. I rise not, therefore, Sir, with the vain hope of turning the accents of the noble Lord's tongue to compliance with the voice of the country, but because I feel it a duty I owe to myself never to let an opportunity pass of expressing my determined, unconquerable aversion to this most detestable measure, calculated to enslave me, and replete with ruin, insult and degradation to my country. Sir, if I object to the principle of Union, I object still more strongly to the terms: It has been said that as soon as the terms were known the warmest opponents of the measure would change their minds.—Sir, I have listened with the greatest attention to the noble Lord detailing them, and so far from altering my mind, it has riveted me stronger in my former opinion. Sir, when I am told by the Noble Lord that the opulent, respectable, and populous city that I have the honour to represent, is to be classed in its representation along with paltry boroughs, it cannot fail of rousing my indignation, and I can only ascribe this disrespect to two causes—either that I am not afraid to tell my mind to the minister, or that the city of Limerick remained loyal during the rebellion, and therefore did not furnish another argument in favour of this odious measure. Sir, it has been the practice of the Noble Lord and his associates to call this side of the house a motley crew. I think it weak of them, Sir, to throw harsh epithets at this side, that may recoil upon themselves. Sir, we are a set of independent, patriotic, spirited men, united in one common cause, whose exertions are directed to one common object, the prosperity and independence of Ireland, and the preservation of British connexion. But I will tell you, Sir, what I term a motley crew—one composed of a very, very few honest men, a number of placemen and pensioners, some Englishmen who disgrace themselves by being made the tools of the Minister, and some deserters and apostates, who are united in one common cause, whose exertions are directed to one common object, the downfall of Ireland, the annihilation of
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her independence, and the separation from British connexion—who, like the parricidal plant, only gain strength to murder the mother that nourished and gave them birth. Sir, as I have mentioned the word apostate, allow me to say, that the private soldier who deserted his ranks, would pay his life as the forfeit—that the officer who resigned when his regiment was going on service, would be discarded from society; and gracious God! Sir, shall not we invent some new species of punishment for men, who either basely desert to the enemy, or shamefully sell out, and retire upon full pay, at the only moment of their lives they ever had an opportunity of being of service to their country. *Eic! sic!* upon you, ye apostates—have you taken the glittering bait held out to you by the Minister, that he may play you in the stream, formed by the tears of your country.

Colonel MARTIN said, that if the proposed Union was so bad a measure as had been represented, they alone are to be blamed, who by their machinations had rendered it incumbent on ministers to propose it. The situation of the two countries was now such, that the question to be decided was Union or Separation, it was evident that such was the opinion of the Government of England, for nothing but such conviction could induce them to agree to terms so highly beneficial to Ireland.—There was one objection to the present system of connexion between the two countries, which he desired gentlemen to answer, and that was the want of responsibility. If the worst and most nefarious measure that the weakness of man could devise was proposed to the Irish Parliament, what remedy could they have against the English Minister for proposing it? None. By the Constitution of England the king could do no wrong! This maxim was established because the ministers of the crown were ostensible for its acts.—Much had been said upon the subject of buying the boroughs. If the money was given to the crown to purchase the boroughs for the purpose of influencing the decisions of Parliament, it would deserve the language which had been used; but the reverse was the fact. It could not, however, be forgotten, that these gentlemen who were now so anxious for the reputation of Parliament, were the very gentlemen who had in the strongest manner represented Parliament as a most corrupt body.

Sir JOHN BLAQUIERE said that the time was now come when this great and important question was to be decided upon its true merits. In the course of the debate this night they had heard some very strong language, but the House would not take declamation for argument, violence for spirit, or assertion for proof. It had been stated that the Minister had waited until the new Members had taken their seats, before he would venture to bring forward this question, but surely there could be no foundation for this

this assertion, because a majority of forty-two had sufficiently spoken the sense of Parliament upon it. With respect to the public opinion upon this subject, Gentlemen entertained very different sentiments; he had taken every means to obtain information, and the result of his enquiries was a firm conviction that a decided majority of the people were in favour of an incorporate Union with Great Britain. An allusion had been made in the course of the debate to circular Letters sent by certain Gentlemen, constituting themselves a Committee, calling upon the people to come forward in opposition to this measure. He was no Lawyer, but he hoped he knew something of the Constitution of his Country, and if he did, he considered the sending of these Letters, under all the circumstances of the case, as a high misdemeanor. To many of the Gentlemen who opposed the Union, he was ready to give credit for the purity of their intentions, and he hoped the same credit would be given to the Gentlemen on his side of the House, many of them were as independent as any of the opposers of the Union. He for one was as independent as any man in the House, for he held no situation that the Crown could take from him. Great reliance had been placed upon the petitions which had been presented against the Union, but he could not help observing that there was a material difference between the petitions which had been presented to the House, and those which he had seen in the Newspapers. In the former the language was temperate and proper, in the latter the assertions were by no means confined to such. In one of the petitions inserted in the papers the public were congratulated on the unanimity with which the Country had opposed this measure. He begged to ask if the County of Cork was unanimous against a Union? Was the County of Kerry unanimous against a Union? But it was by such misrepresentations as these that the common people were deceived upon this subject. The opinion of the public appeared from the members who had been re-elected, the majority of whom were, he believed, in favour of the measure—in a word, every means which he had of collecting the unbiassed sense of the people, convinced him that a majority of them approved of a Union upon fair and liberal terms. An Hon. and learned Gentleman had mistaken the noble Lord as to the situation of Ireland with respect to taxation if a Union should take place: her share of the public burthen was to be fixed for twenty years, upon principles highly beneficial to her, and at the expiration of that period, there was to be a revival, but the future establishment was to be fixed upon the same principles, so that Ireland could not possibly sustain any injury. There was one fact which he begged to state to the House because it appeared to him to be a very important one. He would not, as some Gentlemen had done, say upon his honour, that what he was going to state was true, because such language was unparliamentary, but

but he had the firmest conviction on his own mind of the truth of the assertion he was going to make, viz: that within the last three months house-rent had encreased in the City of Dublin. Upon the whole, this measure appeared to him highly calculated to promote the interests of Ireland, both in a constitutional and in a commercial point of view, and therefore he should give it his decided support.

Mr. ORMSBY contended, that the gentleman opposite to him had not advanced the least shadow of argument against Legislative Union;—they talked of blood-shedding if the projected measure passed; in this way, they substituted their own vague and wild assertions for arguments—they expressed themselves ready to spill their blood, should Union pass, but if they could offer no better reasoning to preclude its passing, he would freely tell them that it must take place, notwithstanding all their hostility to it. Assertion on one side of the House was as good as on the other, and as gentlemen thought proper to insist that a consolidation of the Legislatures would destroy Ireland's independence, he would make a counter-assertion, that the same measure would establish her independence, and promote her happiness for ever. The reflecting part of the House, and the country must duly appreciate such idle declamation as the opposition-side made, and all must know, that the contradictory assertions of gentlemen might be equally well or ill-founded, and thus he opposed his to their assertion, and contended that it carried at least equal weight. If they did choose to argue the question on its principle, and the provisions that were submitted by the noble Lord, he was ready to meet them, and he insisted against them, that the independence of Ireland would be as well adjusted by Union, as by the boasted settlement of 1782. He was too young to take part in the political affairs of Ireland then, and perhaps did not look with equal affection on that adjustment, as its framers and promoters; but he always valued it as the result of Parliamentary deliberation, and not as the proceedings of the Dungannon meetings, which were pronounced in that House its efficient cause and actuating motive.—But he would ask gentlemen, was Irish independence to depend on a British Chancellor's seal and signature? The opposition of gentlemen consisted in a clamour and outcry echoed to the people, but it would take some time and ability to duly and regularly controvert his steadfast opinion, an opinion supported by experience, that Ireland could not be free and happy until legislated for in common with England; Ireland most certainly could not be free, while under the influence and guidance of such bad, such boisterous political passions! But it was loudly contended, that England was got to be trusted—Englishmen were pronounced foreigners, and thus the Anti-Unionist sheltered himself under a self-convicted fallacy, that the interests of the countries would be alike dissimilar and disunited,

after, as before Union—thus a wild line of demarcation was still drawn between, and a conflicting policy used to distract the affairs of both kingdoms, and hence it was time to remove that vice in the subsisting connexion, which caused such distraction. Opposition relied on the adjustment of 1782—it was mere theory, and it was worse, as being neither remedial or effectual against evils—evils which led you, said Mr. Ormsby, into the late rebellion. But the Union would give a participation of the British Constitution, which was practice—practice that continued for ages, and, which, he trusted, would continue for ages yet to come. Gentlemen insisted, that Union would lead to separation; here he was committed with them, and he contended that it would have a direct contrary effect:—they said what was a contradiction in terms, that an Union of the Parliaments would more disunite us with England;—he insisted it would completely *unite us* with England! Their inconsistent and absurd reasoning thus carried a self-refutation with it.

But the gentlemen talked of spending their blood to prevent Union, he advised such high-blooded declaimers to keep their blood to themselves, as the Union would most certainly pass. It was time for the House, warned by the evidence of its practical defects, to reconsider the Irish Constitution, and to accept the proffer of the British Constitution, with all its invaluable benefits. It was time for the Parliament of Ireland to get rid of the British Chancellor's Legislation!—It was a time favourable to their best purposes of cementing for ever the connexion of those countries, by enacting the proffered reciprocation of civil and commercial interests with Great Britain, of removing those religious feuds which invariably produced hatred and discord among the people, and putting those political subjects to sleep which tended to distract and destroy the nation. He trusted that the people without doors would be able to appreciate those benefits which Union would produce—he trusted the people would well consider who in that House were their true friends—he trusted their good sense would distinguish on which side of the House civil liberty, and on which a wish to keep up political animosity prevailed. Mr. Ormsby gave many on the opposition benches due credit for loyal and honourable motives; but they should ask their leaders, was it for the sake of discussing Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation they wanted to retain a Parliament on this side of the water? He begged them to consider what would be their predicament if at any future time an attempt might be made to separate from England? They must become the tools of that party who thought of bringing them into close connexion with France—they should therefore embrace the offer of the British Constitution, accompanied as it was with real liberty, security, and property.—But it was objected that the British Parliament could

could not guarantee the stipulated advantages of Union. He would ask what guarantee then was there for the adjutment of 1782? Was the faith of nations, which always religiously swayed the motives of England, no guarantee? Was a community of interests, a participation of the same political and social blessings, for which the long intercourse of the people in these islands by inter-marriages and assimilating manners prepared us, no guarantee? Was the spirit and independence of Englishmen no guarantee?

Mr. LEE.—Attached as I acknowledge myself to be to the King's Government, and the established Constitution of the land—it is painful to be obliged to oppose the one, in order to do my duty as an honest representative of the people in defence of the other—this measure of his Majesty's Minister, I consider nothing short of an attempt to subject the Constitution of Ireland, which I have sworn to maintain. I therefore warn those gentlemen against committing the two countries and outraging the feelings of every honest and loyal Irishman who loves his king as a freeman ought to do, and reveres the Constitution handed down to him by his ancestors and re-asserted and settled in 1782.

Mr. J. C. BERESFORD.—Mr. Speaker, the number of gentlemen who have so ably spoken on the subject of debate this night, render it almost unnecessary for me to say any thing on the subject; nevertheless I shall make a few remarks on what has fallen from the Noble Lord. His Lordship has persevered in this question, still assuming it as a fact, that he on his side the majority of all the property in the kingdom. I was in hopes that the numerous Petitions which were presented to the House from the most respectable counties and cities, would have convinced the Noble Lord of the fallacy of that supposition.

The industry of the Government and its emissaries have been employed all the summer in procuring addresses from every county, city, and village: their complimentary addresses we consider as nothing but toys to divert a Lord Lieutenant, but we never expected, until experience convinced us, that they could be made use of as an argument in Parliament, to prove the consent of the nation to this destructive measure.

The Noble Lord has been pleased to say the metropolis oppose the measure only through local disadvantages. If there were no other reason for the opposition, I think the ruin of the metropolis is no small argument against the measure; but, Sir, they are not influenced by such selfish motives. The general misery that will follow to the nation from the adoption of this measure is what influences their minds, and breathes in their addresses. The Noble Lord feels very uneasy at the novelty of certain letters, which have been distributed under the signature of some very respectable

spectable gentlemen, for the purpose of procuring addresses against this measure, and which he is pleased to call letters missive. I see nothing very strange in these gentlemen endeavouring to procure the real sense of the country on the subject, when so many extraordinary means have been made use of to procure an apparent one—for the whole summer every village has been ransacked for signatures, and means been made use to procure them, which the Noble Lord would be ashamed of were he acquainted with them.

I have the pleasure of being long acquainted with this Noble Lord, and, from what I know of him, I think him incapable of encouraging such conduct, and I am convinced that if he knew the means that were made use of to procure signatures to those addresses, he would be ashamed to ground an argument on them. It is not more than a fortnight since the people were aware of the use to be made of those addresses; in that time more than half the country have declared their sentiments in opposition to it, and in a short time the Noble Lord will have the pleasure of hearing the opinions of most of the other half, and perhaps he will see the names of many of those who unwarily signed to former addresses, now seeing the true interest of their country; and sign in opposition them.

Sir, the Noble Lord, grounding the consent of the nation on their addresses, has proceeded to state to us his plan, and I shall take the liberty of making some observations on his statement. Unacquainted as we are with the ground of many of his calculations, and having never seen his plan till this day, it is impossible to comprehend so extensive a scheme with that accuracy as would enable us to detect the errors of it; my observations on it shall therefore be very few.—Before the statement of his plan, the Noble Lord has adduced many arguments from the question of Regency, and fictitious differences on the subject of peace and war, to prove the inconvenience of having two Parliaments. I shall merely say in answer to those arguments, that some of them may be applicable to England, but none of them to Ireland. We consider our Parliament as the guardians of our trade and commerce, and all our dearest rights and interests, and we do not wish to part with it for the sake of remedying a few inconveniences which England suffers from our enjoying it. The Noble Lord has described Ireland in its present situation as a colony; I would rather Ireland had the descriptive appearance of a colony, and enjoyed its present freedom, than that under the appearance of an united kingdom, it should suffer all the inconvenience of a colony.

Sir, the Noble Lord is very anxious to know how the Parliament would be deprived, in case of an Union, of managing our local affairs.

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I dare say, Sir, if the Noble Lord means Turnpike Bills, and Canal bills by local affairs, that the English members will not be very likely to interfere with us on these subjects, as long as we do them with our own money, but the Noble Lord will not pretend to tell the House, that England feels no commercial jealousy towards Ireland, or that the Union will so far put an end to that commercial jealousy, that the three hundred English Members, will at all times, when the commercial interests of Ireland are concerned, have the politeness to give away to her one hundred Members. The Parliament of England is an assembly of honourable men, but I have not the least confidence in them, as an Irishman, that should induce me to think they would take the same interest in Irish affairs as our own Parliament does. I have the same opinion of the Government of England,—I admire its conduct towards the allies of Great Britain,—I admire its conduct during the present contest, towards the rest of the world, but I would not willingly give it a greater controul, than it at present enjoys over the affairs of Ireland. I have good reason to think, Sir, that an Union would have very little effect in doing away the jealousy England always feels in regard to her trade and manufactures, it has not been found to do it away in the case of Scotland; many instances might be adduced to prove this, but I will content myself with giving a recent one, that has lately occurred and still oppresses Scotland.—On a calculation made some years since, it appeared that the quantity of Corn grown in Scotland according to the number of its inhabitants, was to the quantity of Corn grown in England on a like proportion as ten to six, the agriculture of Scotland has considerably increased since, and that of England very little, so that I might fairly assume that the property was much more in favour of Scotland, than I have stated, nevertheless the Distilleries have been for several months stocked in Scotland, as they still continue to work in England, by this means Scotland is forced to send her raw material (her Malt) up to London, to be manufactured into Spirits, and by England what can Ireland expect, should she surrender her Parliament, to the mercy of an English one. But Sir, to put the Irish nation out of all doubt as to the feelings of the English Government towards her,—she has, in a recent instance, shewn us by anticipation, what we are to expect from her, when in her power.

I will mention this instance, that gentlemen may see her disposition towards us in such matters. Our Linen trade has of late on several accounts fallen off very considerably, the consequence of which has been that the exchange between this Country and England has risen considerably, another cause for the rise of exchange has been the considerable increase of absentees, and the vast number of gentlemen that have gone to England this year, to see, I suppose

suppose how they would like their residence there in case a Union should take place.

These different circumstances contributed to arise the exchange to three or four per cent. above its usual rate, which acted as a sort of premium on our exports, and was the only recompence our Linnen Merchants enjoyed for the loss of their trade. But in as much as it acted to the advantage of the Irish exporting Merchant, it acted to the disadvantage of the Merchant who imported British manufactures into this country; the moment the Government of England perceived this, they set themselves to work to deprive us of this advantage, accordingly the British Minister taking it for granted that Ireland would be under the necessity of borrowing a part of her loan from England, issued out his order that the Bank of Ireland notes should be taken at a certain rate of exchange by anticipation for the payment of that future loan. Thus Sir, the Government of England have swindled the Irish export Merchant out of his natural profit, and exhibited to us a pretty specimen of the liberality we are likely to experience from England in matters of trade, should this measure be adopted.

I will be free to acknowledge that the plan, as stated by the noble Lord, contains many commercial advantages to Ireland; but as I hope there is not a man on my side of the House that would be bribed to betray what they deem to be the interest of their country, so I am convinced that no commercial advantages would induce the country to give up what they universally esteem their Constitutional Liberty—but even were we inclined to do it, where is the certainty to us of those advantages beyond the period for which they are granted? The noble Lord himself confesses that it is not intended the present arrangement should extend beyond the period of twenty years. As an Hon. friend of mine has already said, twenty years though a considerable portion of the life of a man, is but as a moment in the existence of a nation, and at the end of that time we are again to submit ourselves to a new arrangement, to be made by a United Parliament with three Englishmen for one Irish. The noble Lord states, that the proposition of taxation is to be as 15 to 2, and he states to you how much less the taxes will be at that rate than they are at present—not being able from a loose statement of this kind to calculate whether the fact be so or not, I shall not attempt to examine, or state any thing on it; but I fear the country will find, that let the gross sum of taxation be what it may, the taxes will bear heavier on individuals than they at present do; indeed, the noble Lord himself cautions us not to reckon on the present increase of the Revenue. I do not know on what his Lordship grounds his opinion, that the present amount of the Revenue is precarious—but I ground it on conclusion, that the most of the landed property of the country will be drawn out of it by the adoption of such a measure, and when they are gone
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from it the Revenue must fail, the import duties must diminish with the diminution of the consumption of imported articles, the other revenues will of course fail for the same reasons, and new taxes must be sought for, when from the absence of our men of property we are least able to bear them. The noble Lord next proceeds to state to us the relative situation of the debts of the two countries, and to terrify us with the idea of national bankruptcy if we continue any longer in the situation in which we at present are, and here he has ingeniously contrived to blind the House by the nature of his statement—he carefully avoids stating the gross amount of the debts of the two countries, and only states the relative proportion they bear to each other, the debt says he, of England, was at the beginning of the war, as one hundred and odd to one, so that if it continues to increase in that proportion, Ireland can never stand it with the large proportional increase of debt, and the small comparative means she has—had he stated the gross amount of the debts of each, a very shallow arithmetician could discover our situation; but by confining his statement to their relative situations, he is enabled to blind such members of the House as are not used to similar statements; but I will endeavour to take the mist from it, and shew the House how fallacious a conclusion drawn from such a statement must be, and I know no better way of shewing it to the House but by an example; for instance, we will suppose that the national debt of England at the beginning of the war was one hundred million, and that of Ireland was one million, the proportion between England and Ireland would be as one hundred to one;—Suppose then at the present day the debt of Ireland was ten million, that of England two hundred million, the increase of English debt would be but two-fold, that of Irish would be ten-fold—so that the proportion would be between the debts of the two countries as twenty to one, instead of one hundred to one—an amazing difference according to his statement, but a trifling one in the real situation of the debt of the country. The noble Lord states the peace establishment of the country as 20,000 men, I hope the noble Lord is right, when he conceives that number will be sufficient—but it requires many men to keep a discontented people quiet. I come now to a part of the noble Lord's arrangement, or I should rather say a part about which the noble Lord has made no arrangement—I mean the Church establishment—on this subject my ideas are rather particular. I doubt much whether many people will coincide in opinion with me on either side of the House—I am, Sir, a zealous Protestant and a warm supporter of the Church establishment, but though a friend to the Protestants I am no enemy to the Catholics, and it has always been my wish to grant them any indulgence that I could, compatible with the safety of the State. I do not hesitate to say, that in the present situation of affairs the passing of a bill to enable the
Catholics

Catholics to sit in Parliament, would ultimately prove the separation of the two countries or the destruction of the Church establishment in this. In England where so great a proportion of the House could be English members, the small number of Catholics that would come from this could do no harm, it has ever been the policy of England to fight one party against the other in this country, by first encouraging one, then the other, till they had created such an animosity between them, that both might be driven to seek shelter from each other in an Union with Great Britain—this is no new doctrine of mine, I have often said so in this House, but should this measure ever be adopted, and should I ever have a seat in the British House, I should undoubtedly vote for Catholic members there. Sir, I have often puzzled myself to find what advantage we would gain by this measure, and I never could think of any we had a prospect of, except putting an end to our religious quarrels; this visionary, this solitary advantage is at an end, for throughout this whole statement, it is what he takes care to be least explicit on. As to the proportion of representatives we should have in the British House, I shall not enter into any disquisition on that subject—I hope the question will be dismissed altogether, before we arrive at that part of the arrangement, but I cannot help laughing at the ridiculous idea of drawing lots for the seats in the cities, which are to return but a single member; and so Sir, without regard to the preference of the electors, putting in the same scale, the man who on this important occasion, stands forward to save his Country, and the man who betrays its independence, the representation of the cities of Ireland are to depend on the fate of ballot; however, I thank the noble Lord very heartily, for the candour with which he has stated his plan of election, for I am convinced if (as he will find just now), many whom he expected to vote for him, will vote against him, on a future night he will find that number greatly increased, Gentlemen will go to their houses and reckon the proportion of windows and hearths, the cities they represent have, and when they compare them with others, will probably discover that they are voting away their own political existence—self-interest may then induce them to do what patriotism would not, and the country may be saved by the very engine employed for its destruction—so much for the noble Lord, but I cannot sit down without making a few observations on what has fallen from an Hon. friend of mine (Counsellor Omsby) who has had the goodness to question our side of the House on several parts of the subject of debate, and to be particularly anxious to know how it was possible, that a question of this kind could tend to separation between the two countries—I will in a very few words answer the Hon. Gentlemen, it will tend to a separation by disgusting the people of Ireland against the Government of England—but, Sir, the Gentleman has not only been pleased to ques-

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sion us on the subject, but he has been kind enough to give us his advice—he has advised us to take care not to be brought on too far by our leaders—I know not who the Gentleman means by our leaders—I hope every Gentleman on our side of the House, is led by the honest dictates of his own mind—but I will tell the Gentleman who I should wish to be our leader, I wish the noble Lord was—I regard the noble Lord—I feel an anxious wish to support his administration, and if he would lay aside this destructive project, he will find in me, as he has before found, as sincere, as zealous, and as disinterested a support, as any man in the House will give him. I beg pardon of the House for troubling them so long, but on a subject like this, I fear I shall always be prolix.

Mr. OGLE observed, that it now appeared plain the British Minister, and his noble representative in this country, were determined to persevere in attempting an incorporating Union.—He therefore wished the Noble Lord to say how the Church of Ireland could be benefited by the Imperial Parliament, while it continued as it does among the physical mass of another religious persuasion. In 1793, when Mr. Ogle conceived that the Irish Parliament, by their concessions to Catholics, opened a door to the disturbances and all the ruin since happening, he lifted a prophetic voice against extending our franchises to that body.—He appealed to many hearing him, if he did not then predict that such laws would give England arguments for Union, when Ireland would not be consenting to such a measure. It was often said by Government that Parliamentary Reform would subvert the Parliament; but he asked were not Ministers, by an Union in removing Parliament, subverting the Constitution of Ireland? He begged of the House to pause and consider the agitating innovating time when they were going to do so!—A time when the nations of Europe were either in anarchy, distracted in the ruins of their Constitutions and Governments, or fighting for the continuance of them. Mr. Ogle concluded by an anxious remonstrance with the country gentlemen to withstand what he pronounced an obnoxious projected measure.

Mr. P. BUNNOWS said—Frisolous and fallacious as the Right Hon. Secretary's statement has been, I do not found my opposition to going into a committee upon the peculiar demerit of the system of Union which he has detailed. I openly avow that no terms or conditions can ever persuade me to surrender the constitution of Ireland—to transfer the supreme power of the state to a country, which has continued distinct from ours since the creation—by boundaries which cannot be removed, and by feelings which cannot be eradicated. If an Union shall pass, as an Irishman I shall be indifferent how many or how few deputies shall be sent from this emasculated country. As long as the parliament

which legislates for Ireland shall exist in the bosom of a distinct country, as long as a rival feeling shall actuate the heart of that country, that is, as long as the heart of man shall beat, this country, deprived of its domestic parliament will be the prostrate victim of British prejudice and British oppression. This is sound theory, this is true history.

Sir, no man can be more sensible than I am of the value of the necessity of British connexion—but I say it is he who contrasts that connexion with Irish independence, and says they are incompatible, who endangers it, and not those who are ready to hazard their lives in support of either. As long as I exist I shall exert equal energy in support of these inestimable co-operating blessings, and no projecting Jacobin, or projecting Minister, shall ever compel me to make a rash choice between them.

But it is contended that this measure does not establish supremacy, or at all violate the settlement of 1782, when that settlement was intended to be final.—It was final, say they, to the end of putting down British supremacy, but was not and could not be final in settling Irish constitution.—The hands of posterity could not be tied up from improving Irish Constitution—observe the flagrant falsehood of each proposition—first, this is in its nature the direct opposite of a measure of reform—upon what ground did any man ever speculate upon reform? Because the representatives of boroughs being without an Irish Constituency, were not as accessible, as the genius of our Constitution requires, that this House should be to popular influence and popular sympathy; because they were too accessible to the influence of the British Minister.—What change in the representation does this measure effect—it substitutes 558 Englishmen, with English constituents, in the room of 200 Irishmen, without any constituents—and it removes the sound part of our representation to England, to be operated upon by British intercourse, and to be exempt from the law of Irish reputation, and the effects of domestic intercourse.—Need I argue that this change annihilates the popular influence of Ireland; and makes the influence of the Minister irresistible?—Does not the same reasoning demonstrate that it establishes British supremacy even in a prouder and more uncontrouled state than it existed before the settlement of 1782?—Compare the Constitution which we shook off, and that which the Minister wishes to impose upon us, and see whether the former ought not to be preferred.—In what consisted British supremacy? In the right assumed by the King, Lords, and Commons of Great Britain to legislate for us—after an Union the same bodies, without the deduction of a single individual, will make laws for us *upon any subject*—but I shall be told there will be an addition of Irish deputies, to counteract British supremacy.—

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In comparing the Constitution before 1782 with that now projected, let us for a moment throw out of our consideration the British legislature which is common to both, and confine our views to that which is peculiar.—This method so useful in mathematical reasoning will facilitate our present comparison.—The question then will simply be whether the Irish Constitution which we enjoyed before 1782 was more or less effectual to controul the British legislature, than an hundred intermixed Irish representatives.—It appears clear to my understanding that 300 Irish representatives acting in this country, having exclusive power as to taxes, and seldom interfered with as to internal regulation, is a preferable controul to 100 of the same men merged in the British Parliament.—What follows from this? That even if I were persuaded to demolish our present Constitution, I would not substitute an Union.—I would therefore implore the minister if he be so inexorably hostile to the settlement of 1782—if he will trample down the temple of liberty which we so fondly erected in that proudest period of our history,—to restore to us at least the ancient venerable fabric of our forefathers, and not to turn the genius of the Irish Constitution adrift, naked and unhoused in these stormy and perilous times to take refuge in the cottage of the peasant or the garret of the manufacturer.—I warn the minister that *as there cannot be liberty without law, there cannot be peace without Constitution.*—But this measure when it subverts the Irish Constitution, menaces the British Constitution itself—as a friend to the empire, I deprecate it—as a man who thinks the whole civilized world interested in the purity and preservation of the British Constitution; I deprecate it.—When the overgrown influence of the British minister shall be reinforced by the addition of 100 members who from the nature of things must be nearly as subject to his influence as the representatives of the cinque ports, where will be the balance of the British Constitution? Where is the policy, or the safety of narrowing the basis, and widening the superstructure of that Constitution in these revolutionary times? For, I say, that an Irish Constituency in a British Parliament is a mockery, and that the unwieldy edifice which the Minister is creating, can in no way repose upon the Irish People—but altho what I have stated will not be admitted in its fullest extent, can any man deny, that this is a most tremendous change? Nothing is so prolific as innovation—change succeeds to change, as wave to wave—if this newfangled Constitution shall not work well, as assuredly it cannot, where I ask will exist the corrective? Not in the Irish Nation—the United Parliament, that is, the British Parliament will exercise that power, and I know of no remedy so simple, so natural, and so likely, as the amputation of that excrescence which produced the evil—thus the purity of the British legislature would be restored, and that ascendancy after which Great Britain always panted, established

tablished without controul,—thus England would be restored to its Constitution, and reinstated in its usurped domination.

Upon the competency of Parliament to pass this measure I shall not dwell—if there be an irresistible truth in politics and in morals, this appears to me to be one—namely, that temporary trustees have no right to transfer the object of their trust for ever, without the consent of those through whom, and for whom they held and exercised it—every argument to the contrary is built upon a confusion of right with power, and an inference, that because institutions originating in wrong, have from policy and acquiescence changed their nature, that every act of the supreme power must be rightful. But if Parliament be competent to pass this measure, the Parliament which shall succeed it will be equally competent to annul, vary, or modify any of its terms or conditions. Any articles proposed or ratified by us can at best be but recommendations to the United Parliament, which they may observe or violate at their discretion. The dying recommendations, the testamentary advice of a body, which acknowledges by the very act of voluntary deposition its unsuitness to manage those affairs, upon which it presumes to dictate to posterity for ever. Therefore, it is that if the Ministers were to give a *Chart Blanche* to Ireland as to terms, reserving to England a controuling Legislature, I should reject the offer as fallacious and fraudulent. But we are told that the faith of nations will secure us—how the faith of nations can apply to a question between the supreme Legislature and its subjects I cannot understand—between distinct nations 'tis a valuable pledge, because it may be sanctioned and enforced by surrounding nations—but in this case to solicit such interference would be rebellion, to grant it war. The sanction consequently of the terms of an Union must ultimately resolve itself into the feelings of a rival nation or the conscience of a British Minister. Before 1782, when the Minister acknowledges that we were oppressed most shamefully, and when the squalor of our condition compared with greatness of our resources, was the astonishment of every writer who condescended to notice us—we had equal claims upon the conscience and feelings of those to whom we are about to entrust our concerns for ever—and in order to take chance of a change of conduct in those who have been uniform for centuries, we are required to surrender a Constitution from which we have made more advances in eighteen years than any other nation in Europe has done in a century.

But even if an Incorporate Union were the wisest possible arrangement for perpetuity, and if Parliament were manifestly competent to pass it, does nothing depend upon the times—upon the means which have been used—and upon the sentiments of the public?—In my humble judgment, these are considerations to which the wisest and grandest schemes of policy ought to be subservient.—No measure can, in the abstract, be so excellent as not

to change its nature by reference to these circumstances. I feel that I am founded in asserting, that the time is most inopportune, if the means, the most profligate and revolting; and the public sentiment in the highest state of hostility to this measure; when I call the time inopportune, I fear I differ from the mover of this measure, in the meaning of the term. He possibly conceives that time most opportune, which furnishes him with most means of any kind, to carry the measure, in any way. I consider it not in relation to the facility of running the measure upon the nation—but the tranquillity and permanence which are likely to ensue, if it were carried. I therefore do not think the times opportune—because a numerous English army happens to exist in the country—or because Military Courts are entrusted with the power of construing the Amnesty Act, and deciding who are within its exceptions—or because we have scarcely respired from an agonising conflict, and are so exhausted and faint-hearted, that we loathe all political discussion, and would almost prefer annihilation to exertion—or because we are so torn and multiplied by domestic discord, that some of us from private pique, would embrace common ruin.—These may be glorious golden opportunities to tempt an ambitious and unfeeling Minister, to *risk* a great nation of her honour and independence—but never can become the foundation of a lasting and honourable connexion.

But permit me to state why the times are inopportune. They are inopportune because they are tempestuous; because the spirit of innovation is already too epidemic; and ought not to be stimulated. If gentlemen forget their principles, I wonder they do not recollect their rhetoric. How earnestly they deprecated any attempt to improve an antient edifice amidst storms and hurricanes. But it seems storms and hurricanes are favourable to demolition, though not to improvement. They are inopportune, because a settlement of this vital nature, carried at such a time, never can be ascribed to deliberation or choice. Because it must favour more of conquest than compact, and never can be permanent and pacific. The times are inopportune, because it is a season of war—of war with a formidable enemy—with an enemy who watches the moment of inflammation, to make an attack, and who cannot mistake or overlook the natural and necessary effects of so revolting a measure: effects which it will be called sedition to state, by those who feel no compunction in producing them.

But if the times be inopportune, see whether the means are not suitably incongruous to the end proposed. The pretended object is to melt two nations into one people by a measure founded upon their free concurrence, and carried by the uninfluenced voice of their Parliaments. How does the Minister proceed in this work of conciliation? he passes by the people as live stock, appurtenant to their Constitution—mere lumber—to be included perhaps

perhaps in a schedule annexed to the deed of conveyance,—he brands as Traitors and Rebels all who presume to deny the self-competency of Parliament to carry this tremendous innovation.

But is the Parliament to which he thus primarily and exclusively resorts, left to exercise an unbiassed judgment? I shall not dwell upon this odious subject—I shall not compare the Black List with the Red Book, or enumerate those who lost or those who gained offices; or state their crimes or their merits—I shall not anticipate those posthumous funeral honours which await some who have *undertaken* for the extinction of the Constitution of their country, if they shall succeed in their pious labours, or allude to the Phoenix Judges who are to spring out of the ashes of the Irish Legislature—I do not like even to think upon those deluded men, who forgot they had a country, probably because they thought their country would not survive to remember them. I turn to a more grateful subject—the virtue of this House triumphed over the Minister, and refuted the calumnies which were levelled even more at your existence than your fame—the measure was defeated—tranquillity was restored, and what if possible was better, this House was raised in the public estimation, and endeared to the heart of every honest Irishman—this was a consummation devoutly to be wished;—this was an accidental good flowing from the miscarriage of a bad measure, at which a wise Minister would have exulted, and upon which he might have improved.—What was the conduct of the Minister? he suddenly changes, if not his principles, his practice—he appeals from the *refractory competence* of Parliament, to the *derided sovereignty* of the people—the people became every thing—the Parliament nothing—compared with him, Tom Paine dwindles into an Aristocrat—can it be credited in Europe, can it be credited by posterity? that the Minister who has lavished so much treasure and blood in combating republican principles in France; to whose mind jacobinism is a compendium of every crime, who cannot hear the physical strength of a country mentioned without horror—that this Minister should dive into cellars and climb into garrets, to solicit plebeian signatures against the ancient Constitution of Ireland—that he should set on foot a poll of the populace of Ireland against its Constitution—that he should blacken the columns of the Government prints with the names of day labourers of the lowest description, attesting in favour of his *Jacobinical Innovation*.

What has been the result of this frantic canvas, which the loyal men of Ireland who put down the rebellion, contemplated in silent anguish, until they were forced into exertion? Has the Minister in fact and in truth entitled himself to say that we the Representatives of the People are called upon by their voice to submit to him? quite the reverse. A loud and universal outcry issues from every quarter of Ireland against this detested measure; the
City

City of Dublin, the University, the Counties—the property—the populary, and talents of the nation—all ranks, and all religions are united in one grand and irresistible confederacy against it. The public sentiment can no longer be falsified—it forces itself upon the senses of every man who can see or hear. No man can stir out of the *pale of the Castle*—No man can travel through any quarter of Ireland without reading it, in the anxious conflict of passions and feelings, depicted in every countenance he meets.—These are solemn moral manifestations of the active sentiment of a nation.—These are *awful warnings*, which the benignity of Providence interposes between the rash projects of Ministers, and the irretrievable mischief. *May God avert the storm, and save the Nation.*

Mr. EDGEWORTH—Sir, a man who is totally unconnected with this House, rises to deliver his opinions under a very considerable disadvantage—he is certain that his errors will meet with no indulgence, and that whatever he may say favourable to the opinions of any description of gentlemen in this House, will obtain him but a slender share of their support, as it is not advanced to strengthen their party. His motives also are sometimes suspected—he is supposed to wait for terms on the one side, or to fear loss of popularity on the other. I have, sir, notwithstanding these discouragements, steadily abstained from deciding upon this subject, till I had heard the terms of Union, which were to be laid before this Parliament. At the commencement of the last session, I declared myself in general, disposed to a Legislative Union with Great Britain; but I at the same time voted against the immediate adoption of the measure; I wished that it should be laid before the people of this country, for their cool and dispassionate investigation, and I at the same time declared that I never would concur in forcing it upon the people, by mere Parliamentary majorities. I trusted that when the first feelings of national pride had subsided, the good sense of the Nation would adopt the measure if it appeared decidedly beneficial. I waited patiently till the terms of the measure came before the House, and I was conscious, that I might trust myself till that moment should arrive, as I had no ambition to gratify on the one side, and as I knew how to appreciate the value of temporary popularity on the other. Not even you sir, to whom I have always looked up with the highest deference and respect, could predict the manner in which I shall give my vote on the present question; for sir, it was not decided when I came within these walls.

At this late hour in the morning, I will not detain the House long upon those points, which have already been so ably and so amply discussed, but I shall endeavour to mention a few ideas that have not yet been laid before you, and I shall hope for the indulgence of the House, not from any expectation which they

can.

can have of hearing eloquence from my lips, nor of having any of their passions moved by what I shall say, but from my being content to address myself to your sober reason; I leave to gentlemen of superior attainments, all "the pots, pride, and circumstance" of Parliamentary warfare, which makes ambition virtue.—Sir, it is urged, that this measure is an innovation; if it is hurtful, reject it; but if it be beneficial, do not resist, merely because it is an innovation. Was not the Reformation an innovation? Was not the glorious Revolution which placed the present family upon the Throne, an innovation? Was not the Oath of Allegiance an innovation? Was not the Settlement of 1702, an innovation? And surely it will be allowed that this was a beneficial innovation.—Much commercial advantage has certainly arisen to this country, from the arrangement of 82, and I agree entirely in the opinion that it was intended to be final, and no Jesuitical, mental reservation could make it otherwise. But final as it was meant to be it was far from perfect. The power, the independent power, for such I am taught to say of the Irish Parliament, did not prevent the late rebellion. Notwithstanding the admirable vigilance and loyalty of the members of the House, did not the safety of this country depend upon the compunction of a single individual.—

"What once was called a blessing, now is wit,

"And God's good Providence a lucky hit."

But allowing to the Settlement of 1702, all the extent of advantage which is attributed to it, was not that Settlement made by Parliament? Who can then doubt the competency of Parliament to make changes in the Legislature of the kingdom, when the whole constitution of Parliament was changed by that very Settlement? If that Parliament was authorized to make an agreement useful to Ireland, so must the present Parliament.—Some gentlemen will reply that Parliament may negotiate for what may be advantageous, but cannot surrender the rights or liberties of the people; to this, I entirely assent; and here lies the fallacy of the argument against the competency of the Parliament: It is first assumed that an Union is a deterioration of the rights and liberties of the people, and then it is asserted that Parliament is incompetent to make such a surrender—prove the first position, and the conclusion must follow; but do not attempt to prove it by saying that any deviation from the Settlement of 82, is impossible; our Parliament surely, has not lost the power of doing good, nor the power of distinguishing good from evil.—We are fond of imitating the British Constitution; ours is but an imperfect imitation of it, but instead of an imitation, we may have the original; for the defects of our present Constitution, without a Union, no remedy is immediately in our power; we have, therefore, a right to improve our present Constitution,

Constitution, by the means that are within our power, by indentifying it with that of England. It is said, that 100 Irish Members, added to the British Parliament, would render it more dependent on the Crown. I cannot implicitly agree to this position. It will, I believe, be granted, that the Members chosen for counties and cities, are the most independent, and the least liable to corruption. There may be exceptions to this rule undoubtedly, but as a general principle, it will be admitted by both nations.

Let us then suppose that there are from 80 to 90 county and city Members in the Irish House, out of 300, and in the British Parliament, 180 county and city Members, out of 554. In the one House, there is not nearly a third—in the other House, not exceeding a third, composed of county or city Members, but in the United Parliament, the proportion would be materially altered; instead of there being one-third or three-ninths composed of county and city Members, there would be four-ninths, which is nearer to one-half than to one-third. It will be a further advantage to have the 100 new members from Ireland, rather than from English counties, where established families would have too great an increase of influence. Would to God, the English Minister would seize this favourable opportunity of making a salutary reform in Parliament, with the least possible inconvenience, by lopping off 100 English borough Members: there would then be a considerable majority of county and city Members in the united Parliament. This would indeed, fulfil the wishes of his father, and he must thus pour better blood into the veins of the British Constitution, whilst an equal quantity of what was corrupted, was drawn out by another channel.

We should also consider the support which we should receive from the influence in the British Parliament, of those gentlemen of property, whom we are in the habit of reprobating as absentees.—Will the name of absentee prevent a man from attending to the interests of his own property, though it be divided from him by 10 or 20 leagues of sea?—It is not matter of much astonishment, that once gentlemen who have property in both countries, should prefer a country where that property is secure, to this country, where every breeze shakes us like a tempest.—I make no doubt that security would induce many who have not hitherto come amongst us, to temporary residence, with a view to improve their estates in Ireland, and when once the country is in a state of permanent security, may it not be expected that younger branches of opulent families may represent them in this country, to manage, and perhaps to inherit their family estate.

But let me not be misunderstood; I do not wish to curtail the influence of the crown; too much boroughs, I know, introduce talents into Parliament:—their activity, like the winds, impel the vessel of the State. They are necessary to its motion, though

sometimes they burst out in tempests, and hurricanes; in such moments, the weight of landed property is the ballast which prevents the vessel from oversetting.—I am far from wishing to exclude from their just share of Parliamentary power, such talents as we have lately seen displayed in this House, and I earnestly hope, that in the united Parliaments they may appear to the honor of their country.

I am sensible that when I speak of the addition of a hundred Irish Members as advantageous to the freedom of the United Parliament, I open a large field to declamation. The Scotch Members will be instanced against me, and I shall be reminded that they are supposed to have added a uniform weight to the influence of the Crown. But the Irish do not, like the Scotch, habitually unite for their common interest, when they are out of their own country. Is this propensity attributed to the Irish? On the contrary, are they not continually reproached with neglecting in another country the interests of those whom they have left behind them. It is said that the Irish fight better when abroad, than when in their own country; perhaps their civil courage is of the same nature as their military prowess, and that they will contend more strenuously against ministerial encroachment in the united, than they have been used to do in the separate Parliament of Ireland. The splendid examples of a Barré, a Burke, and of a Sheridan, have proved that Ireland produces every species of genius; and we shall, I hope, send to the united Parliament no inferior specimens of the abilities of Irishmen.

It is said that your Representatives will be at too great a distance from controul. They will be at a greater distance, but they will be more liable to controul; for if they take places, they must vacate their seats, and some popular candidate will always be at home endeavouring to supplant them. Distance in this case far from weakening the popular power, obviously tends to weaken the force of aristocratic influence in elections.

It is said that a distant Parliament cannot know the local advantages of plans of improvement. Plans of local improvement which are suited to our circumstances, seldom fail to meet with encouragement, independent of Parliament. For instance, roads are managed by grand juries, and canals will always find companies to carry them on, where they are advantageous. In one word, distance need never be inconvenient, where *proper means of conveying intelligence* are established.

It has been ably argued by an honourable Member (Sir Lau. Parsons) that the horrors of the Revolution in France might have been prevented, if the French gentry and nobility had been in the habit of residing upon their estates, and keeping up a connexion with their tenantry. But there are reasons why Ireland would not be liable to suffer as France did from the absence of the proprietors.

proprietors from their estates. Let us recur to our own experience—Is it thought that the expenditure of resident gentlemen is of great service?—I compare two neighbouring countries, of which I happen to have the most intimate knowledge, in one of which there are resident twenty or thirty gentlemen of upwards of 2000 l. per annum; in the other there do not constantly reside four gentlemen of that description (yet I do not see that the one country exceeds the other four or five times in wealth or industry)—Smith truly remarks that the residence of an opulent family is sometimes injurious to industry.—One manufacturer is worth more than twenty squires—I mean of such squires as myself. Formerly some grim Baron retained in profuse hospitality a number of idle dependants—such things happen every day under new names—I mean no disrespect to the body of country squires, of which I am one—a country squire may be of great use as an upright, independent magistrate, or as an excellent farmer—But for the former occupation, government has found substitutes; and that part of a country gentleman's utility is superseded. Husbandry is the remaining source of utility, and this will, I make no doubt, become a more general occupation, when gentlemen of moderate fortunes, by an Union, shall lose *this* fertile field of political cultivation, which has hitherto lain open to them in this House.—Then they will naturally become improvers of their native soil.—What I contend against is, the necessity of having *all* the opulent gentry of Ireland resident. On the contrary, the parliamentary visits of a hundred of our opulent gentry to England will increase the intercourse and family connexions between the two countries; and from this intercourse advantages far overbalancing the evil of their temporary absence must result. All our improvements are introduced by those who have been temporary absentees.—but when we talk of absentees, we are often governed by prejudice against the name; and we should consider that when the two countries are one, the term *emigration*, when we speak of the residence of the Irish in England, will be absurd.—There are some who imagine that the want of the consumption of the additional absentees will be felt by the grazier and the ploughman. It would not turn the balance in the estimation of a single hair.

I am willing to allow that in this city undoubtedly one source of traffick will be dried up; but will not increased habits of parsimony and attention to business balance the loss.—Tradesmen copy those whom they serve. A taylor and a milliner are generally extravagant; a wholesale dealer generally provident.—Dublin, as a commercial city will, in all probability, be in twenty years a richer city than it could be as the seat of vice regal magnificence. The gentry of the country will be inclined more to economy, when they are not necessarily assembled every year in Parliament; and from their example perhaps similar habits may arise amongst their immediate inferiors.—Smith says truly, “capit

tal is produced more by parsimony than by industry." Gentlemen who are fond of recurring to precedent should recollect that Edinburgh had little trade before the Union; and this was ascribed by one of the ablest political writers of Scotland to that city's being inhabited by Members of Parliament and idle gentry, instead of being inhabited by industrious men of business.—A similar observation he extended to France. The Parliament towns of France were the seats of idleness and poverty. Parliaments, tho' certainly oracles of wisdom, have not, it seems, the power of conferring wealth. Even oracles themselves have not this power. If history informs us truly, the people and the country in the neighbourhood even of the famous oracle of Dodona were corrected in the extreme.

But to be serious, I have no doubt that Dublin will gain in trade what she loses by the residence of the Parliament—at all events Dublin, though a great, is not our only object. If the country flourishes, wealth may fluctuate from one sea port to another, without creating any alarm to the real politician. Whilst the stream of commerce flows through the island, the Legislator need not be disquieted by the shifting of the golden sands.

But, Sir, an Union need not be resorted to for the improvement of our commerce. (Here the opposition cried hear him, hear him)—I repeat it, Sir, an Union need not be resorted to for the improvement of our commerce.—I am glad, Sir, that I have been able to obtain the attention of this side of the House; I perceive many gentlemen awake, who were just now asleep—I know, Sir, that my arguments are of little weight; but my vote is of some consequence—and, as I do not wish to enflame any dangerous passions, I may be allowed to endeavour, by the stimulus of curiosity, to catch the attention of the House.—And now, Sir, I must continue to touch upon the true cause of that necessity which calls upon us for some strong measures to restore us to security.—Religious dissensions are the real cause of all our evils: gentlemen are afraid to touch upon this subject; but when affairs are in a bad situation, that situation must be looked in the face—our wounds must be probed, not to torture, but to heal them. I will not enumerate the horrors on either side—they are not peculiar to the year 1641 or 1798—but are necessary consequences of bigotry and superstition—ignorance is the cause of both. The Minister is charged with bribing priests—a harsh name may be given to any species of conduct—raising the wretched Roman Catholic priests from sordid penury and more sordid ignorance to some species of independence, is the wisest measure Government can pursue; had it been pursued seven years ago, there would be no rebellion. Render priests totally independent of their miserable flocks, and they will not be obliged to keep them in ignorance. The reign of that species of popery, which was injurious to mankind, is over—I do not wish to speak of the
Papists

Papists of the present day ; but the popery of the present day is a lion robbed of his teeth and claws—it will expire from necessary causes in a short time—and the less it is stimulated, the sooner it will fall into neglect—the sun of reason has re-ascended too high to be followed by the mists of ignorance ; let it shine on Ireland, and Popery is no more.

Sir, in a state of health, strict adherence to any rule is not necessary ; mankind is nourished by various aliments, and can acquire habits of assimilating the most opposite modes of life ; but when individuals or states become diseased, they must submit to strict regimen. Could it be possible to allay religious feuds, Ireland would not accede to, nor would England press an Union ; but it is impossible. Last session convinced me that the acrimony which rankled in mens' minds has not subsided. I do not weakly imagine that a Roll of Parliament, called the act of Union, will at once, allay this fury ; or that it will have the power of a charm or talisman : no sir, but the force of England is wanted to restrain the violence of party, and to give time for the revival of better passions—to give time for the effects of knowledge and of increasing property. Without knowledge and property, a Legislator here, or a Legislator there, has nothing to act upon. How many, sir, of the acts on your table are a dead letter?—It is not in the power of acts of Parliament, suddenly to reform or enlighten a nation. It is said that this must be a military government for many years—this is a wretched necessity—to lay it to the fault of any government, any Parliament or any party is equally idle. It arises from the circumstances of the times and of the country ; circumstances which cannot be instantaneously changed. We have not been able to keep the peace amongst ourselves ; we have called in England to our aid, to settle our domestic quarrels.—When the horse in his quarrel with the boar, called in the man to his assistance, the horse was ever afterwards obliged to submit to the bridle.—Sir, dependence was ever in proportion to protection. So long as the property of this country requires protection from Great Britain, we cannot be independent ; we must either become united amongst ourselves, or legislatively united to Great Britain. If ever there was a moment when Ireland could call herself independent, it was when the Washington of Ireland collected round him the property and virtue of Ireland, when the influence of his exalted character united all parties—lulled to sleep the fury of religious dissention—forgave the neglect of England—and bid defiance to the power of France. At that moment, if independence were really desirable, which I am very far from thinking, perhaps it might have been obtained. An armed neutrality might have protected the commerce of all the world.—The value of the English navy equipped for sea, does not much exceed the debt which Ireland has incurred since that period.—But, sir, this high-sounding phrase of independence is not worth the

the consideration of a moment. The two Islands are mutually dependent—so are the earth and moon ; they mutually regulate and enlighten each other ; but, sir, they move round one common centre of gravity, which is extraneous to both of them.

It is asked how an Union will prompt a better spirit between the contending parties in this kingdom ; I will tell you how it is—By shutting out all hope of supremacy on the one hand, and by allaying all fear of it on the other.

A pamphlet which appeared at the commencement of last session, has been ridiculed and vilified for having promised advantages both to Catholics and Protestants. The author has been compared to an actor, who speaks aside upon the stage, assuming from the courtesy of the theatre, the privilege of being heard by those only, whom he wishes to address ; on the contrary, he appears to me more like the ancient Chorus who told truths to all parties, without partiality or disguise. Sir, nothing can be more true, than that both parties would gain inestimable advantages from any measure that should prevent, or even smother their internal jealousies, till time should utterly extinguish them.—Neither the wisdom of the Irish Parliament, nor of the English Minister, nor of the joint Parliaments, can allay religious animosity. We must wait for an encrease of knowledge. All that can be done by human wisdom, is to prevent actual warfare. When the feeling of real injury, and the language of provocation and defiance ceases, reason will resume its seat ; time and the view of what passes in the rest of the world ; new pursuits ; good example and good education, will carry off, or prevent the peccant humours that disaffect the country.

During our own time, sir, all we can hope for—and is it little ? All we can hope for is security—the first object, the great end of every social compact. To compensate all the enjoyments of uncontrouled liberty, all the natural pride of perfect independence, civilized man accepts publick protection, as a pledge for private security ; without it, we may hope in vain to enjoy that sweet peace which *poets say*, “ the good man bosoms ever.”

Sir, without an armed force at their command, when the rebellion is put down, when invasion is as little to be apprehended as at any moment since the commencement of the war the post cannot travel without a guard, and no gentleman who resides in the country, can go to sleep without examining the masonry bars and bolts which he has provided against his—*neighbours*.

This is a state of life which cannot long be endured. The English Minister cheers us with the smiling hope of being able to continue the war for eight years longer. What man of common prudence will be content to live in prison for eight years, to obtain doubtful advantages for his posterity. If an Union can keep down religious discord, we may be upon a footing with Great Britain—we can bear with them the burthen of a foreign war,

war, when we are delivered from the apprehension of domestic enemies.

But, sir, whilst I thus give my sentiments in favour of an Union, they are far from being in favour of the plan of Union, now laid before us.—Unless an Union leaves nothing behind it which can become a ground of jealousy, or altercation, we had better remain as we are at present. To strengthen the two countries by an Union, their interests must be completely identified—their debts, taxes, commercial advantages and restraints, their current coin, every thing which can be the object of Legislative exertion, must be upon a perfect footing of equality.

I know, sir, that a Minister could not at once venture to propose such a bold and sweeping measure;—but, sir, he talks to you of our being equal to such a situation, in fifteen or twenty years.

The debt of England, the noble Lord has stated, as bearing at the commencement of the war, a proportion to the debt of Ireland, as one hundred and twenty to one—at present, as thirteen to one—he therefore justly concludes, that in a short time, the debt of the two kingdoms must be exactly proportioned to their relative strength, riches and population. He might put this in a much stronger light—in ten years since 1798, a period partly of peace and partly of war; the debt of Ireland has increased in a decuple proportion—in ten years more, were our debt to follow the same proportion, it would amount to two hundred millions, and in twenty to two thousand millions.—There must therefore, sir, be some fallacy in the common modes of calculations upon these subjects; direct induction in finance, frequently leads to absurdity. In fact, sir, those who are in the least conversant with subjects of this nature, must perceive, that if the debt of England were instantly extinguished, it would create universal bankruptcy and confusion. Sir, a sudden and violent increase of pressure from the atmosphere, would crush us to pieces, and were its present pressure suddenly removed, we should burst asunder from internal expansion; but, sir, if a fair Union between the countries can ever be established, it must be upon such terms as leave no temptation on the one side, and no suspicion on the other.

Upon any other occasion I would spare myself the mortification which necessarily attends what is thought to be a paradox; but I will, however, venture to assert, that this country at present, actually pays a very large share of the national debt of Great Britain, and I will go farther, that I may have an opportunity of stating publicly, what cannot long continue paradoxical. The debt of England gradually ceases to be a burthen, and *after certain periods of time*, every addition to it becomes merely numerical, and encumbers neither the exertion of the state nor the industry of individuals.

Sir

Sir W. Davenant in King William's time, with all the enthusiasm not of a common prophet, but of a calculating prophet, fixed the precise sum of national debt, at which bankruptcy must ensue. Many subsequent prophets have been equally mistaken, and I believe, that even Lord North when pressed upon the subject, was compelled to fix five hundred million, as an amount beyond which there was no possibility of upholding credit. I say five hundred million, but I am rather inclined to think it was but four.

This is not a time, sir, to enter into discussions of this sort, but in justice to myself, I have barely mentioned the general opinions, upon which I found my assertion, that perfect equality of every sort must subsist before a just Union can be established.

I shall take up, sir, but a very few moments more of your time, in stating how far the general consent of the nation should be considered, in bringing this measure to a conclusion.

I have formerly laid it down as a principle, that there are two species of majorities in these countries, where our Constitutions are founded upon representation. Wherever these coincide, there can be no doubt as to the sense of the nation. Numbers without property should, in some few cases, be chiefly looked to, as for instance, in a poll tax—in more cases, the preponderating weight of property should decide; but where the weight of property is nearly balanced, there it appears to me, that the majority of Numbers should be thrown into the scale to turn the beam. I say, where property on either side, is nearly balanced, Numbers should be taken into consideration;—but where the decided sense of the people can be ascertained, I hold it to be the duty of a trustee, to abstain from any definitive treaty that is contrary to their opinion. If the measure appears to him useful or necessary, let him *yield* for the present to the voice of the people, which has poetically been called the voice of God; that is to say, where a whole nation raises its voice against any act of Government, it may be concluded that common sense decides against it.

If I could be informed by any impartial evidence, or by my own observation, that the common sense of this kingdom, was against a Legislative Union, my tongue never should utter a vote in its favour.

I shall therefore, sir, always hold myself unshackled, and at liberty, upon this subject, and no weak fear of having my conduct censured as unstable and easily to be turned by every wind of doctrine, shall for a moment deter me from giving my ultimate dissent from their measure, if any of the terms, or if a new view of the whole of the subject should alter my opinion.—To some gentlemen, this declaration may appear extraordinary—they may have found by experience that a man must join a party, if he means either to obtain pre-eminence or to serve his country—and I admit

admit this to be true in ordinary cases, but in an extreme case like the present, ordinary maxims of prudence must be laid aside. I am here contending *pro aris et focis*. It is a question in which the security of my property and the dearest interests of my family are concerned, and, sir, he is no bad patriot who begins from the centre of the social circle, and who gradually extends his views to the circumference. French philanthropists follow the phantom of universal benevolence as their guide, and becoming abstract citizens, are neither husbands, fathers, nor children; they are all brothers, without any distinction of primogeniture. Now sir, in these countries, we are contented to believe that the state, which contains the greatest number of good husbands, fathers, children, landlords, and masters, will probably contain the largest brotherhood of good citizens.

On this occasion, sir, perhaps the last in which my voice can ever be heard in public, shall not court the protection or encouragement of any party. I shall be guided in every step of this business, not by any preconceived theory, but by the practical judgment, which I may form from every source of information within and without these walls. But, sir, my present vote has been determined chiefly by one circumstance, which renders it impossible for me to contribute to the establishment of the system now proposed to us. The Minister has avowed that seventy boroughs in this kingdom are saleable commodities—that he intends to purchase them with the public money, and he openly tells you that the price is *fixed*. Sir, when I heard a Minister in England, in the dispute upon the regency, avow that he would not be Minister, without having the Lords of the Bedchamber at his disposal, I was astonished at the hardness of the assertion, but when we are told that seventy boroughs of this kingdom, whose Members are now amongst us, are to be purchased at 15000 a piece; it is impossible to collect the genuine sense of the nation within these walls, Sir, that influence exists instead of prerogative, we all admit; but to tear the veil from the shocking idol of corruption, and to command us to worship it in all its indecent and disgusting nakedness, is a species of profligacy that takes away the zest of refinement from debauchery. There are actions which all the world perform, but *Democritus* alone despised his species sufficiently to perform them publicly. Whilst this corruption, is part of the proposal for a Legislative Union—I will oppose it; and till I believe from my own observation and my own judgment, that the sense of the sober and impartial majority of this nation is in favour of the measure, notwithstanding my own opinion is in favour of an Union, I shall vote against it.

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alter one of the branches of the Constitution. It was known to exercise the two first of these rights in its common operations every day, and more than one instance had occurred wherein the last right was exerted; why then, he asked, would it not be competent to an act of legislative incorporation? This argument of incompetency was refuted to, because it could not be maintained that the measure was not necessary and beneficial—the defects in our Constitution furnished many and strong arguments against its existence as it now stands. Here the Hon. Member went into an examination of the asserted independence of this country, shewing the fallaciousness of the idea, and proving the very reverse from strong facts that the legislature of Ireland possessed no controuling power in any matter of imperial and foreign concern—that when Great Britain led this country, she was of necessity obliged to follow, and to partake in all the consequences of peace and war, without having any immediate and acknowledged influence in the councils, by which such events were directed. This, however, would no longer be the case, if a Legislative Union were to take place—then we would have a common and participated power of deliberation and decision with the sister country—we would then have the validity of sovereignty and independence instead of the silly mockery which alike imposes on our pride and our understandings.

Much was said by gentlemen at the other side of the House, of the popular attachment to the Irish Parliament, but he would contend, and in the spirit of candour he could not be contradicted, that notwithstanding the Parliament of Ireland had really conferred some important benefits on the country, the public confidence was estranged from it, and that this estrangement had been in progress from the epoch of 1782 to the present hour. What was the reason? because it professed to be a distinct and wholly uninfluenced and national legislature, and yet was considered to be subservient and devoted to the interests of Britain. This jealousy could, however, no longer exist when the interests of the two countries ceased to be distinct and separate. A separation of legislatures naturally conveyed the idea of a separation of interests, and a common parliament, a common people, and a common weal, would of necessity extinguish those national and commercial jealousies necessarily incident to the present state of connexion between the two countries.

As to the silly, but mischievous idea that the taxation of Ireland is the motive inducing Great Britain to seek the proposed Union, it was almost an insult to an enlightened assembly to offer any reasons in controversion of it, for every candid and sensible man must acknowledge, that even in furtherance of such an object, this country must still be benefited, for it would be in vain to impose taxes where there was not ability to meet them, and that the

the scale of our taxation could only encrease with that of our wealth and prosperity—so that even imputing the very worst motives to Great Britain, the only inference to be admitted was that of her profiting by the connexion, whilst she must heartily contribute to our riches and prosperity.

Mr. TIGHE said he would not enter into the detail of the measure brought forward by the noble Lord. If ever that measure was submitted to a committee, then would be the proper time to enter into detail, but if that measure should never be submitted to a committee, which he trusted would be the case, entering into the minutiae would be perfectly unnecessary; but the noble Lord had founded that measure upon two assumptions, which he had not proved nor attempted to prove by argument, and which assumptions were entirely false. The first assumption of the noble Lord was, that the opinion of the nation was in favour of the measure; upon what did he found that assumption? Was it upon the almost unanimous sense of all the counties declared last year against that measure, when first it was brought forward? Or was it upon the almost unanimous sense of those same counties now declared to Parliament in those petitions this day presented, or which it was known were about to be presented, deprecating that measure? Or did he found his assertions upon those miserable signatures obtained in different parts during the summer by fraud and by forgery? If it was not notorious and not worth proving, Mr. Tighe said, he could prove that to one set of those resolutions 60 names had been forged, that to another, which he would name, that of Waterford, numberless respectable names had been forged. Several persons had protested in the public papers against the impudent forgery of their names, one of whom he recollected, Mr. Savage a gentleman of property and holding an office in the Corporation of Waterford; that to another set of resolutions, that of the county in which he resided, the county of Kilkenny, names were inserted contrary to the wish or sentiments of the parties.—If so many forgeries occurred to him, it is probable that every Member of this House could state as many to the different pretended resolutions of different parts of the country—and after all, the names signed to a single petition on the table would outnumber the whole obtained in favour of an Union by nine months labour and expence. But as much labour had been taken to prevent names being signed to those petitions;—he could prove that in that part of the country he had lately been, the county of Wicklow, emissaries, had come, not he believed with the knowledge, or under direction of the Noble Lord, but persons had come from Dublin, who spread reports among the Farmers and Roman Catholics, that their signing such a petition would be looked upon by the government as rebellion; nay, even he had been informed,

formed, that hand-bills were shewn to the people, stating that such signatures would be considered by the government in the same light as the signatures of United Irishmen—nay more, that loyal persons in that county who had suffered from the rebellion, were afraid to sign such a petition, lest they should be deprived of the compensation granted for their losses by the Legislature, and he called upon the Noble Lord to declare, why that compensation had been so long delayed and so slowly advanced, while those Loyalist sufferers were many of them starving?

The next assumption of the Noble Lord was, that Ireland could be adequately and fairly represented in an United Parliament—and upon that assumption he builds all the security he intends to give us for those financial, commercial and constitutional advantages which he supposed we were to receive by an Union. Mr. Tighe then contended that Ireland could never be adequately or fairly represented in a Parliament sitting at Westminster:—because many classes of men, most interested and most competent to represent the country would be virtually or absolutely excluded. First the whole body, the most respectable, wealthy and numerous body of Presbyterians, would be prevented by the operation of the British test laws—a great portion of the independent country gentlemen of Ireland, the men best acquainted with the country would be deterred by motives of expence from attendance in a Parliament at Westminster:—the men most able to defend the Constitution and who have indeed most ably and powerfully defended the Constitution, the Lawyers of Ireland, would be incapacitated from attending:—and lastly the Irish Merchant would scarce be able to leave his private affairs at so great a distance even to serve his country:—he must leave the commercial interests of Ireland, to the parental care of the British trader—so that this mutilated representation, would exclude most of the landed interest, all the legal knowledge, and all the commercial knowledge of the kingdom,—that supposing those disadvantages, together with those of number, were outweighed by the care of a parental Parliament, yet would the British Constitution suffer a wound never to be cured, that it was a doctrine held by some modern writers that the influence of the Crown over the House of Commons was a necessary part of the Constitution; that therefore he might be allowed to suppose that such an influence did exist; that by the statement of the Noble Lord the same civil establishment would remain in Ireland after an Union; that therefore the influence of the Crown would act with a threefold force against the one hundred representatives:—that these representatives would still be men, however virtuous, and however worthy to reform a British Parliament; but that the whole patronage of Ireland would be weighed against 100 instead of 300 votes—against men alienated from their constituents, and drawn with a triple

triple impulse towards the Minister;—nay, that even to give Ireland favour in the eyes of a Minister, even to be patriots, these men must court the Minister on all British or Imperial questions—nay should even those men speak of the liberties of Ireland, these violators of compacts, what would be the indignant reply of the Englishman? “You sold those liberties.” Should they seem to resist the first invasion of the treaty of Union, would not the honest Englishman reply, “We are competent, we are as competent to “destroy the treaty of 1800 as you were to destroy the treaty of “1783.”

But Sir, I shall conclude, said Mr. Tighe with saying that had I been one of those whom want of reflection, or an indifference for the liberties of my country, had so far misled as: at first to have approved of this measure, I should now more than hesitate when I looked back at once upon all the evil auspices under which it has been introduced and supported. I should lament that the hour of public calamity had been chosen for the discussion:—I should lament that it was introduced in the midst of a doubtful conflict with a desperate enemy:—I should lament it was introduced while the wounds of a rebellion were fresh; of a rebellion fomented by the conduct of that British Cabinet, which now proposes the greater evil as the completion of the lesser:—I should lament that no means had been left untried to obtain a false opinion from this House and from this Nation; the offices of the crown, the honours of the crown, prostituted for the destruction of the state; the seats of this House bartered for the sale of the Constitution; corruption modified to meet the sense of the lowest of the people; signatures to addresses compelled, purchased, forged; the civil powers degraded into panders; the executive into the pitiful trafficker for subscriptions; nay, the military aid called in to intercede for signatures; lists were exhibited under powerful authority and the rebel procured indemnity and the traitor oblivion, not by writing, but by not striking out his name; hireling Priests were sometimes found willing to sell the conscience of their flocks, while looking back perhaps to their former occupation, they were ready to enjoin the subscription to slavery as a penance for unsuccessful rebellion:—for these are men, who provided the state is destroyed, they care not by what means they assist in the destruction.

Mr. W. SMITH said, he would take another opportunity for discussing the question of Union, in its principle and its details. At that late hour he assured the House he should not trespass for more than five minutes upon their time. When he first offered himself to the notice of the Chair, he had merely risen for the purpose of declaring his hearty and entire concurrence in the just and manly sentiments expressed by an Honourable and Learned Friend of his (Mr. Ormsby), who had spoken from an upper

upper bench on that side of the House; sentiments which breathe a proper indignation at the manner in which some persons had thought fit to debate the question. He had not risen, he said, for the purpose of calling upon Gentlemen on the other side to resort to arguments, because he felt that the cause which they supported was too weak to furnish them with any. He had not risen with the design of calling on them to abandon assertions, for this would be to desire them to hold their tongues; he had risen to request that they might desist from slanderous assertion, from what, though not in its intention, yet in its effect, he could hesitate to term calumnious. As egotism appeared to be the order of the day, and some Gentlemen seemed more disposed to declare how they felt, and what they meant to do, than to assign reasons that could justify either their feeling or their intentions, he had risen to say that he had been a friend to Union above a year ago; and that he was still more a friend to Union now; and to promise that in all its stages he would support the measure, not indeed with ability, but certainly with zeal. He had risen on behalf of himself, on behalf of the many independent Gentlemen with whom he had the honour to concur, on behalf of the greater part of the property and intelligence of Ireland, to cast from him, with contempt and indignation, the foul, the groundless, the presumptuous charge, that in supporting Union he was surrendering the liberties of his country. It was true, he was one of those who were described as *black letter-men*, by an Honourable Gentleman who had more than once made use of rather equivocal expressions, in speaking of that profession to which he had the honour to belong. He, however, was too well satisfied of the correctness of that Hon. Gentleman, to suppose, for a moment, that by declaring himself to understand the law of honour, he meant to insinuate, that the members of that learned and respectable body did not know, and practice that law. He was convinced that that Hon. Gentleman was incapable of intending an insinuation so ignorant and presumptuous. As to himself, Mr. Smith would refer to his past conduct in Parliament as the best test of his principles, and the best answer to those who could doubt his attachment to the freedom and Constitution of Ireland.

Mr. Smith observed, that every thing which was urged against the Union, might be resolved into this one assertion, that it would be subversive of Irish liberties and Constitution. The opponents of the measure argued in a circle. Union will subvert the Constitution; therefore Parliament is incompetent to enact it. Parliament is not competent to enact the measure; therefore it will overturn the Constitution. He admitted that Parliament had no right to subvert the Constitution.

But

But this was a case for which the Constitution provided no remedy. There lay no appeal from Parliament, but to the sword; no redress was to be obtained, but by revolt. If an arrangement, which is incalculably advantageous in a commercial point of view,—one which does not barter liberty for trade, but on the contrary accompanies these commercial benefits with political advantages of still more importance, and gives us the real enjoyment of the British Constitution, if such an arrangement is not to be endured, in the name of God, said Mr. Smith, let us take arms at once, and revolt against our own freedom and felicity.

Mr. J. M. O'DONELL.—There is no man in this House more firmly attached to British connexion, nor is the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last but two, (Mr. McClelland) more ready to support it than I am. My desire for the eternal continuance of that connexion, induces me to rise and reprobate the odious measure now before the House, which if persisted in, will not only endanger it, but ensure a dissolution of those bonds of amity and political interests, which have for so many centuries united England and Ireland. I shall not waste the time of this House, in expressions of just contempt for those who have apostatized and betrayed and sold the rights of their country. I leave them to the keen edge of their own reflection and notice them no farther than to say in the words of Johnson,

“To such the Plunder of the Nation^s given,

“When public crimes inflame the wrath of Heaven.”

I shall condescend to enquire whether *terms* proposed this night by the Noble Lord are good or bad. *Terms*, for what? For the *eternal surrender* of the Rights, the Constitution and the Independence of Ireland. I say, Sir, we never were sent into this House for so base a purpose, and our Constituents deny, and justly deny our authority to do so. I ask, is that woman virtuous, who only refuses to part with her virtue, because she disapproves the terms?—I ask, will not the world suspect her virtue who shall condescend to listen to any terms for a dishonourable purpose? Will any honourable guardian listen for a moment, to terms in order to betray the virtue of his female friend entrusted to his care?—*We* are the guardians of the honour and Constitution of our countrymen, and we shall be more base than that Government which endeavours to assail us, unless we shall repel the attack. It is said by some, that we now admit the competence of Parliament on the present occasion; I deny that any Gentlemen on this side has ever admitted it; for my part, I thus publicly deny the competence of the present Parliament, and next to the impolicy and unjustness of a Legislative Union—the want of competency

tency on our part to enact the measure is the firmest ground on which I place my opposition.

The Noble Lord pretends that he has brought this measure forward again, in contradiction to the expressed wish of this House, in order to comply with the anxious wish and desire of the people of Ireland—the Noble Lord cannot be serious; he well knows how determinedly averse to this odious measure is the real and unbiassed sense of the nation, but if he is yet a stranger thereto, let me refer him to the records of this House—to the petitions on your table and those which daily will be presented against a measure so fraught with ruin that the people are determined not to submit to it—there is not one petition on your table in favour of this business, and will any man be weak or silly enough, to put the records and petitions of this House in competition with the resolutions of some insignificant towns procured during last Summer by fraud, persecution and forgery?

Sir, I again say, the discussion of this question is disgraceful to the nation and highly insulting to our constituents. If the question of *Union* must be agitated—let the present Parliament be dissolved, and another called for that purpose—I shall not deny the competence of such a Parliament although I do that of the present, because our constituents never dreamt that so infamous a measure would have been proposed for our consideration—the Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench have denied that this precaution was taken in the settlement of the Union between England and Scotland, I beg leave to refer them to the history of that transaction, and they will find that it was expressly mentioned in the Queen's proclamation for calling a new Parliament, that it was for the purpose of taking the Union into consideration.

Let not the Noble Lord, with great consequence and great property in this country, demean himself by continuing the agent of a British Minister to ruin his country—he has tried the experiment, and gone great lengths indeed, to gratify his ambition and support his wickedness, he knows now the measure is against the sense of the people—against the opinion of this House, for he must be well convinced that a majority of it will never consent to give up their own dignity and the freedom of their country—let the Noble Lord be advised e'er too late, to abandon a measure, wickedly undertaken, meanly supported, and persevered in nearly to the destruction of the Empire—by now abandoning it in compliance and from a respect to the sense of this House and the petitions of the people—he may save himself—he may save his country?

One word and I am done, a Right Honourable and Learned Gentleman opposite to me (the Attorney General) has often quoted or rather misquoted from a book, wrote in favour of the

the Independent rights of Ireland during the reign of king William, I mean Molyneux's Case of Ireland. I am almost inclined to think he has never read it, or if he has, I am positive he does not understand it. It has been asserted, that *Molyneux* was an advocate for an Union, or had wrote in favour of that measure at that time—I have now in my hand, the first an oldest edition of that valuable work, and I declare throughout the entire, and I have read it with much care, there is not a sentence to support such an assertion. I call on the learned or any other Gentleman to point out one passage in this book in favour of, or recommending a Legislative Union, or the surrender of the Parliament of Ireland; on the contrary, in every page he supports the rights and the policy of Ireland legislating solely for herself, and concludes his book with these remarkable passages which I shall take the liberty of reading to this House, as awfully and perfectly applicable to the present question and conduct of both the English and Irish Administration.

“ To conclude all, I think it highly inconvenient for England
 “ to assume this authority over the kingdom of Ireland: I believe
 “ there will need no great arguments to convince the wise assembly
 “ of the English senators, how inconvenient it may be to England,
 “ to do that which may make the Lords and People of Ireland
 “ think that they are not well used, and may drive them into
 “ discontent. How consistent it may be, with true policy, to do
 “ that which the people of Ireland may think is an invasion of
 “ their rights and liberties,—I do most humbly submit to the
 “ Parliament of England to consider. They are men of great
 “ wisdom, honour, and justice; and know how to prevent all fu-
 “ ture inconveniences. We have heard great out-cries, and de-
 “ servedly, on breaking the edict of Nantes and other stipulations;
 “ how far the breaking our Constitution, which has been of five
 “ hundred years standing, exceeds that, I leave the world to
 “ judge. It may perhaps be urged, that tis convenient for the
 “ state of England, that the supreme council thereof should make
 “ their jurisdiction as large as they can. But with submission, I
 “ conceive that if this assumed power be not just, it cannot be
 “ convenient for the State. What Cicero says in his Offices,
 “ *Nihil est utile, nisi idem sit honestum*, is most certainly true. Nor
 “ do I think, that tis any wise necessary to the good of England
 “ to assert this high jurisdiction over Ireland, for since the statutes
 “ of this kingdom are made with such caution, and in such form
 “ as is prescribed by Poyning's act, 10 H. 7. and by the 3d and
 “ 4th of Phil. and Mar. and whilst Ireland is in English hands,
 “ I do not see how tis possible for the Parliament of Ireland to
 “ do any thing that can be in the least prejudicial to England.
 “ But on the other hand, if England assume a jurisdiction over
 “ Ireland, whereby they think their rights and liberties are taken

E c

“ away,

“*why*, that their Parliaments are rendered meerly nugatory, and their lives and fortunes depend on the will of a legislature wherein they are not parties, there may be ill consequences of this. Advancing the power of the Parliament of England, by breaking the rights of another, may in time have ill effects.

“The rights of Parliament should be preserved sacred and inviolable wherever they are found. This kind of Government, once so universal all over Europe, is now almost vanished from amongst the nations thereof. Our King's dominions are the only supporters of this noble Gothic Constitution, save only what little remains may be found thereof in Poland. We should not therefore make so light of that sort of Legislature, and as it were abolish it in one kingdom of the three, wherein it appears, but rather cherish and encourage it wherever we meet it.”

I have read you those passages, in order to shew this House how misrepresented the writings of that great man have been, and how firmly he was the supporter of the *preservation* of Parliament wherever to be met with. Since he wrote, Scotland has consented to incorporate, in *part* of her Parliament with the entire Parliament of England.—Poland has been plundered of her Constitution, and at this time, when Parliaments only exist in England and Ireland, we are called on to extinguish ours for ever—we are called on to surrender it and the Irish nation to the faith and mercy of a British Minister and a British Parliament; and as the edict of Nantz was violated, so the final adjustment of 1782 is attempted to be broke through—but let the Minister of England and Ireland beware—Irishmen will never surrender that Constitution but with their Lives!

Serjeant STANLEY said, that every thing he had heard that night confirmed and fortified him in the opinion he gave on the question last session—both as to the absolute necessity of the measure and the competency of Parliament to enact and carry it into execution. He went into the history of the Union between England and Scotland, and proved that Ireland so far from surrendering her Constitution by a Union, would acquire real independence and dignity; from the ill-constructed nature of the connection as it now stands, she only possessed the shadow without the substance of the British Constitution; we could not even hold a Parliament in Ireland without a license under the Great Seal of Great Britain, and we could not do a single legislative act without the concurrence of the English Cabinet and Chancellor who held the Great Seal, and who was responsible not to the Irish Parliament but to the British. After an Union Ireland will acquire a full communication of the British Constitution and Commerce, and the tranquillity of this country will be established on a solid and lasting

lasting foundation. As to the competency of Parliament, he maintained all the precedents and authorities were on our side in favour of the competency of Parliament; and to the modern oracles of the law, he would offer the opinion of the Chief Judges of Ireland, and of Lord Somers and all the Whig Lawyers who established the Revolution, and who took the lead in the Scotch Union. He hoped the House would not be diverted from the completion of this great and salutary measure by clamour, or arguments founded on vanity, false dignity, and a mistaken idea of independence which they did not possess.

Mr. GRATTAN.—The Right Hon. Member proposes a counter revolution, as if he were to bring in a bill to depose the House of Hanover, and re-establish that of Stewart. He proposes to restore the domination of the British Parliament that abdicated Ireland, and to depose the Irish Parliament who saved her—he grounds his proposition on the opportunity, and the weakness, and the divisions, and the martial law of the country—he conceals that ground because in disclosing it he would display the real character and perfidy of the measure, and he professes to introduce it on another ground, namely, the wishes of the country as mistated and misrepresented by the servants of the Crown he has to encounter, or rather the minister of England has to encounter; in this proposition gigantic difficulties, for instance, the defence of the Parliament of Great Britain towards Ireland for one hundred years, he has to explain away the tyrannical acts of a century, he has to explain away the English act against importing live cattle from Ireland, the act prohibiting the exportation of wool from Ireland, the glass act, the plantation act, the usurpation of the final jurisdiction, and the usurpation and exercise of legislative authority—a conduct so lawless, that even though mild it had been a tyranny, a conduct so oppressive that even though legal, it had been an abdication—so said Mr. Fox upon the subject of the repeal, “I could wish to retain the powers of external legislature, but they have been so grossly abused by Great Britain, that they with the rest must be abandoned;” so said the Irish Parliament in its emphatic paragraph—nothing but a free trade can save us from impending ruin—what ruin? Ruin brought on by the British Parliament—so said Mr. Grenville in 85—a barbarous and absurd policy, by which she has been debared from the advantages that God and nature gave her—so says the present Minister now—a system unworthy of the liberality of England, and injurious to the interest of Ireland—So, said he, in his other speech in 85. A system, says he, speaking of the system of that Parliament, which he now proposes to restore, which counteracted the kindness of Providence, and suspended the industry of man—put Ireland under such restraints that she was shut out of every species of commerce, restrained

restrained her from sending the produce of her own soil to foreign markets—and all correspondence with the colonies of Britain was prohibited to her—so that she could not derive their commodities but through the medium of Britain; this was the system that prevailed, and this was the state of thralldom in which that country had been kept, ever since the Revolution.

Behold the character which the Minister himself gives of that very Legislature, which he now proposes to re-establish; it remains for him to prove that the character on the Irish subject is altered. He is to prove that the Parliament of Great Britain is more pure, more mild, less influenced at present, than in the former century;—he is to combat the authority of his father, who declared the Parliament required a new portion of blood to enable her to bear her infirmities;—he has to combat his own motion for parliamentary reform; he has to combat her own declarations of 83 declaring that the influence of the crown was encreasing, had encreased, and ought to be diminished; he has to combat the encrease of that influence, since that resolution; he has to combat the paragraph in his Majesty's Speech, of 75 at the opening of the American war, and the echo of that paragraph by the British Parliament, declaring the determination to maintain the principle and power of British taxation throughout all his Majesty's dominions; he has to contend against the conduct of the British Parliament, through the whole of the American war; he has to contend against her conduct to Ireland in that war—the tea tax of 79—in the American war she taxed you—notwithstanding your grant of 300,000 L. of 98, she taxed you—she imposed on you at that time a tax on tea, at your own ports—and transmitted the act to the Irish commissioners, to collect the tax; he has to combat the debt of above 400 millions, the growth of the century, and the growing exigencies of Great Britain, in consequence of *that debt*; he has to prove a reform in her sentiments, without any reform in her condition; he has to prove, in short, that as the difficulties of Great Britain, and as far as relates to the People of Ireland; as her jealousies encrease, so will encrease her confidence in that people and the mildness of her Legislature;—he must endeavour to establish as a Prophet, what he has disclaimed and denied as an evidence; he must disprove two consequences which immediately threaten from the odium of the Union, and the encreased expences of the empire—namely, a military government in Ireland for the present—and for the future, at no very distant period, an augmentation of taxes; consequences which go directly again your trade and your liberties.

From all this I conclude that the British Parliament, however wise, provident, beneficial and respectable in the regulating her own Country and the dominions thereunto belonging, continues for
Ireland

Ireland an experiment wholly, utterly, totally and most absolutely inadmissible.

The Minister has another difficulty to encounter, viz. the impeachment of the Parliament of Ireland to deny the exercise of the general export of the country, of nearly the double since 82 of the Linnen nearly two thirds since the same period, the increase of her Corn trade since that period, including the ceasing of her import, 1,000,000 of her population nearly one fourth, of the growth of all this since her constitution. Under her Constitution, Corn for instance, under the operation of Parliamentary bounty; Linnen under the operation of Parliamentary regulation, the Plantation trade the gift of the efforts of the Irish Parliament, and her whole growth of commerce, the apparent result of that spirit of free trade which her Parliament gave and inspired, on a comparison therefore of the decline of the Country, under love of the Parliament of Great Britain, and of the growth of the Country under the maternal wing of her own Parliament, the Minister gains but little. On a comparison of the progress of Scotland under a Union, and of Ireland under a separate Parliament, he will not gain more, he will find that our population increased in sixteen years more than that of Scotland in one hundred, he will find that our staple trade has increased under a separate Parliament four times as much as that of Scotland under a Union, he will find on the whole that the Parliamentary Constitution of Ireland, in reference to the commerce of this Country has answered completely, and has rendered his efforts on that subject as unnecessary as they are improbable. How has it answered in reference to empire? here he has more difficulties to encounter; the imperial subjects he has specified, navigation, war, and treaty, the Parliamentary Constitution of Ireland has fulfilled them all.

Two treaties came before her, the American treaty and the French treaty—she ratified both—she passed the manifest act and the navigation act—she granted a supply in the last French war—she voted a supply upon the rumour of a Spanish war, and she voted another in the present French war—it follows, that the Parliamentary Constitution of Ireland has been adequate to the purposes of Empire as well as of commerce—there again he has to oppose him, the fact and the history; and here again he has to oppose him, his own repeated declarations, for as he has been an evidence against the English Parliament in the capacity of a Legislator for Ireland, he has been no less a strong, direct, repeated, and positive testimony in favour of the Parliament of Ireland. (See the King's speech in 1796—"I shall endeavour to secure the happiness and prosperity of this kingdom, and to protect and maintain its most excellent Constitution.")—(See his speech in 1795. "Attached to that Sovereign and the Constitution, it is his glory to preserve, the great staple manufacture of your country has increased beyond your most sanguine hope, chiefly owing to
" your

“ your own Parliament, its constant superintendence, and its
 “ wise provisions, and *next to that*, to the *merited* and liberal en-
 “ couragement in the British market.”—(See his speech in
 1794—“ You are now involved in a contest for your Constitution,
 “ and for the preservation of every principle which upholds social
 “ order.”) I might add and rank with the authority of Kings,
 and far above that of the Ministers—your own address declaring
 the growth of your country under the Irish Parliament as you had
 in 79 declared the ruin of your country under the Parliament of
 England—You say the kingdom of Ireland has arisen to a height
 of prosperity, un hoped for and unparalleled—fact and authority
 come in crowds against him. But the Minister alledges that jacobinism
 grows out of our situation, and that situation he explains
 to be our separate Parliament—and he thinks that enough—An
 ancient Constitution and a recorded covenant are to be put down by
 that sentence,—it is no longer a question you see, according to him,
 of right, or of treaty, but of convenience; expediency is to be
 the measure of both, and yet he will not say to England, jacobinism
 grows out of a popular Constitution, therefore strike out the
 people, his idea is a paradox, viz. that the spirit of democracy
 which he means by Jacobinism grows from the King, or the cham-
 ber of the Lords, or from the chamber of the Commons, in which
 aristocracy has no small share of power, in fact his assertion is that
 democracy grows out of monarchy, and aristocracy, with certain
 popular mixture—that is the excels grows out of the tempera-
 ment, his instances are nothing; enough to say he thinks it.—Ja-
 cobinism grows out of your Constitution, and therefore down with
 the Lords, down with the Commons, hew down the chair in one
 house, and the throne in the other, and let huge innovation enter.
 Never was it known in the English Constitution that the excesses
 of the popular branch were made an argument for destroying any
 integral part of the Constitution, still less the Constitution itself.
 The English cut off the head of Charles the first; was that made
 an argument on the restoration, for putting down the popular
 branch of the English Constitution? James the second put down
 liberty, it was that made an argument afterwards for putting down
 monarchy? the Parliament of England, in the close of the present
 century lost America at the expence of above an Hundred Millions
 of Debt. Was that made an argument for putting down Parlia-
 ment?—excesses committed by any one integral part of the Con-
 stitution have never been urged as arguments for putting down that
 integral part, still less for putting down the whole, and least of all,
 have excesses committed by the people been urged against the Con-
 stitution itself, particularly where the Constitution endeavoured
 to restrain those excesses—I should be glad to know how he com-
 poses this Jacobinism at which he trembles—I really believe he
 means to impose a military Government, and that his Union im-
 ports

ports nothing less, and that the tranquillity talked of is the mere result of that intention—but he professes the contrary—he professes familiarity of privilege, of course he must leave the press of Ireland, and the power of forming clubs and associations in Ireland, on the same ground as in Great Britain, where both exist. Thus he leaves, or professes to leave, the powers of agitation, and takes away the Constitution of Parliament which is to keep them in order—he does more, he leave a provincial Government or an Irish Court, without the controul of a resident Parliament, for the Governments are not consolidated, though the Parliaments are—he leaves that provincial court free from native controul, and of course with great powers of provocation and irritation, and the prospect of impunity—the Ministers of Union will be the Ministers of the country—a wise exchange—you keep your Court and banish your Constitution.

You banish your constitution and resident Parliament, and, of course, the authority which is to restrain the abuses of power and the abuse of privilege, and this he calls a measure of tranquillity. He does more in favour of Jacobinism; he gives it a complete triumph over Aristocracy; what is the claim or charge of Democracy? that the upper orders are incapable to legislate for the country.—You do not know the strength of your case, says the Minister; you think you understand Jacobinism, but I will convince you you are mistaken—you do not know how to overlet the higher order; leave it to me—I will get that higher order to echo your charge—I will propose an Union, wherein the higher order is to proclaim and register their own incapacity in the rolls of their own Parliament.—Thus, I think, as far as relates to tranquillity, his own plan is a refutation of his own argument; a false and fatal idea of public tranquillity I think it—to take refuge from your own liberties in the denomination of another country, and to surrender, as a pledge of peace, a Constitution which you have stipulated to defend with your lives and fortunes.—That Constitution, I think I have shewn to be adequate to the purpose of trade, and to be faithful to that of connexion, but I do not think it adequate to the purpose of surrender.—This introduces a new question; the competence of Parliament to surrender the Constitution—the project of Union appears to me to be nothing less than the surrender of the Constitution—it reduces the Commons of Ireland to one third, leaving the Parliament of England their present proportion—it reduces the Commons of Ireland I say to one third—It transfers that third to another country, where it is merged and lost in the superior numbers of another Parliament; he strikes off two thirds, and makes the remaining English;—those Irish members residing in England, will be nominally Irish Representatives; but they will cease to be Irishmen; they will find England the seat of their abode, of their action, of their character; and will find therefore the great principles of action, viz.—sympathy and fame, influencing

cing them no longer in favour of their own country; but propellant motives to forget Ireland—to look up to England, or rather the court of England, exclusive for countenance, for advancement, and for honours, as the centre from which they circulate, and to which they tend.

I therefore mention that the project of an Union is nothing less than to annul the Parliament of Ireland, or to transfer the Legislative Authority to the people of another country—to such an act the Minister maintains the Irish Parliament to be competent, for in substance he maintains it to be omnipotent—I deny it—such an act in the Parliament, without the authority of the People, is a breach of trust. Parliament is not the proprietor, but the trustee; and the People the proprietor, and not the property. Parliament is called to make laws, not to elect law-makers; it is a body in one branch of delegates, in no one branch of electors, assembled to exercise the functions of Parliament, not to chuse or substitute another Parliament for the discharge of its own duty, it is a trustee, and like every trustee, without a power to transfer or hand over the trust—a miserable quibble it is to suppose, because delegated to make law, it has therefore a right to make a law to destroy its own law making or supersede its own delegation, precluded as it is by the essential nature of its trust from annulling its own authority, and transferring the powers of its creator, the Society, to another country; it is appointed for a limited time to exercise the legislative power for the use and benefit of Ireland, and therefore precluded from transferring, and transferring for ever, that legislative power to the people of another country; it is appointed, entrusted, created, and ordained, not only to exercise the legislative powers of the Society, but also to preserve her rights and instead of abolishing them by surrendering them to another country to return them at stated periods, unimpaired, undiminished, to the people from whom they received them, I state a principle on which the House of Commons is built, supported by authorities, if any authority be requisite,—“The power of the legislative,” says Mr. Locke, “being derived from the people by a positive voluntary grant, and institution, can be no other than what that positive grant conveyed, which being only to make laws and not legislators, the legislative can have no power to transfer their authority of making laws, and placing it in other hands, the legislative neither must, nor can, transfer the power of making laws to any body else, or place it any where, but

Note: Puffendorf, says—When one commonwealth unites with another in such manner that one keeps its government and states, and the subjects of the other change their country, and are taken into the rights and privileges of a foreign commonwealth, it is evident that one is swallowed up and lost in the other.

"but where the people have."—"The prince," says Grotius (speaking of princes that have the whole legislative power in themselves, the case is, however, stronger in our government) "cannot alienate or transfer his kingdom."—"He cannot," says Puffendorf, "transfer his subjects to be governed by a foreign power; the commonwealth itself has no power over its members other than what are granted and left by them, that first erected it; the moral or political body has not the same right over its members as the natural." Mr. Locke says, the delivery of a people into the subjection of a foreign power is a change of the legislative, and therefore a dissolution of the government; the legislative acts against the trust reposed in him when it makes an arbitrary disposal of the lives and fortunes of the country, and he refers to Hooker, who is also authority on our side. "The legislature," says Mr. Locke, is not only supreme, but sacred and unalterable in the hands in which the community have placed it; though it be a supreme power in every commonwealth, yet it is not and cannot be arbitrary over the lives and fortunes of the people. It has not an absolute arbitrary power." But I have higher authority—that of the Convention of England in 1688. That convention voted that there was an original contract between the nation and the government—it follows that the nation is the proprietor of that contract, and the parliament ministerial to fulfil the provisions of that contract, not to break it—to act within the frame of the constitution, and not to dissolve it—Accordingly, in the trial of Sacheverel you find the arguments of the Commons exactly on this principle.

Mr. Lechmere as follows:—"The nature of our constitution is that of a limited monarchy, wherein the supreme power is communicated and divided between Queen, Lords, and Commons;—though the executive power and administration be wholly in the crown—the terms of such a constitution do not only suppose but express an original contract between the crown and the people, by which that supreme power was (by mutual consent, and not by accident) limited and lodged in more hands than one, —and the uniform preservation of such a Constitution for many ages without any fundamental change, demonstrates to your Lordships the continuance of the same contract."

Sir Joseph Jekyll—Nothing is plainer than that the people have a right to the laws and the Constitution.—This right the nation hath asserted and recovered out of the hands of those who had dispossessed them of it at several times.

Mr. Bushel—He says,—Indeed it is difficult to give limits to the mere abstract competence of the supreme power, but the limits of a moral competence, subjecting occasional will to permanent reason, and to the steady maxims of faith, justice, and fixed fundamental policy, are perfectly intelligible and perfectly binding

on those who exercise any authority under any name or under any title in the state. The House of Lords is not morally competent to dissolve itself, nor to abdicate, if it would, its portion of the legislature of the kingdom. By as strong, or a stronger reason, the House of Commons cannot renounce its share of authority. The engagement and *part of society* which generally goes by the name of Constitution, forbids such innovation and such surrender—the constituent parts of a state must hold their public faith with each other, and with all those who derive a serious interest under their engagement, as much as the whole state is bound to keep its faith with separate communities. Otherwise competence and power would be entirely confounded, and no law left but the will of a prevailing force.

“The collective body of the people, (says Bolingbroke) delegate but do not give up—trust, but do not alienate their right and power—there is something which a Parliament cannot do. A Parliament cannot annul the Constitution. The legislature is a supreme but not an arbitrary power.”

“The power of King, Lords, and Commons (says Junius) is not an arbitrary power—they are the trustees, not the owners of the state—the fee simple is in us, they cannot alienate, they cannot waste—when we say the legislature is supreme, we swear that it is the highest power known to the Constitution, that it is the highest in comparison with the other subordinate powers established by the laws—in this sense the word supreme is relative not absolute—the power of the Legislature is limited; not only by the general rules of natural justice and the welfare of the community, but by the forms and principles of our particular Constitution. If this doctrine be not true we must admit that King, Lords, and Commons, have no rule to direct their resolutions but merely their own will and pleasure.—They might unite the Legislature and Executive Power in the same hands and dissolve the Constitution by an act of Parliament—but I am persuaded you will not leave it to the choice of 700 persons notoriously corrupted by the Crown, whether seven millions of their equals shall be freemen or slaves.”

The latter part of this quotation will not apply to the Irish Parliament.—But could we suppose the intrigues of a Minister to be successful—could we suppose that by intimidating some, bribing others, influencing all, he could procure in both Houses of Parliament a majority to annul the Parliament itself, and transfer the Legislative to another country, the judicial, the controuling, the impeaching, and all the powers in that great denomination signified and comprehended—could we suppose that the Minister proposes to buy the Irish Parliament as his proposal to compensate the extinguished borough imports, and that he comes to offer 1,500,000*l.* to buy up the Irish Parliament at the expence of the

Irish

Irish people who are to pay that million and a half for losing it.—I say, could we suppose such a case, the question on that supposition propounded would be nothing more nor less than this—whether the individuals composing the Legislative Body have a right for their own profit to sell the Parliament of the country—to affirm that they cannot, requires scarcely any other argument than the honest instinct of the human mind—the moral sense implanted in the heart of man, and the rudiments of right and wrong registered in every breast.

The English Minister thinks otherwise—he pronounces the Irish Parliament absolute—he gives no reason—he who denied the power of France to alter her Government, maintains the omnipotence of the Irish Parliament to annul her Constitution—he whose Parliament protested against its competence now affirms its omnipotence—he supports this false doctrine by the confusion and inapplication of his cases—he confounds the case of a Parliament accepting of the Legislative dominion of another country with the treachery of the Parliament of that country, betraying, transferring, or selling the Legislative power—What! does he mean to say that the Parliament of England is competent to transfer to Ireland the Legislature of Great Britain—does he mean to say that she is competent to reduce the number to an insignificant proportion, and transfer that part and the seat of Legislation, that is the English Legislation itself to the French Legislation at Paris, yet I believe if the French council should chuse to transfer the Legislation of France to the Parliament of Westminster, England would scarcely hesitate on the subject of her own competency,—the one is the competency of acquisition—the competency of diminution—the competency of aggrandisement, the other is the competency of treason,—the competency of delinquency—the competency of abdication.—When he compares this case with the reform of Parliament, he is equally feeble and fallacious; he argues that to restore the third estate of the Commons to whom his friends argue it belongs, and to destroy with that view in a few individuals, the monopoly of popular franchise to whom on no principle of Constitution it can belong, that is, to revive the principle of representation, is tantamount to an act abolishing in substance and effect the representation itself, and annihilating the King, Lords, and Commons of this realm, he compares the pruning the tree that it may bear fruit, to the taking it out of the earth root and all, he does not confine himself to one instance of inapplication, the pages swarm with them, he proceeds to compare the case of the repeal of statute disabilities with an act imposing disability on the whole realm, he compares the act restoring the Catholic to the elective franchise, to an act disfranchising not a particular man, not a particular sect, but in substance and effect the whole Kingdom; from the inapplication of his cases he proceeds to the errors of his doctrine; then he says that absolute power of Parliament

is necessary for the repose of the state; he thinks that the state of society is best secured when there is a body always in existence competent to overturn, or sell her Constitution; he thinks that the happiness of mankind is best promoted when a daring desperate Minister, I know of no Minister more desperate or daring—shall be able by packing a Parliament, to overturn the liberties of the People; he thinks their happiness worst preserved when the body competent to overturn them is not assembled; and when the body that is assembled has not the competency; and when both these secure the freedom and eternity of the society by the repose of her powers; for this doctrine I say the Minister has given no reasons; he has been equally sparing of his authorities—Had his friends done the same, they would have been more prudent—they indeed have quoted Lord Somers as an authority, to prove the power of Parliament to surrender the Legislative Authority of one country to another, confounding the case of a surrender with the case of an acceptance. Lord Somers is authority, (and so would every judge and every English lawyer); that if any one Legislature, or that if all the Legislatures on earth were willing to surrender all the rights, privileges, and inheritances of the globe to Great Britain, her Parliament stand ready to accept them. He states that this his doctrine is particularly true in a mixed Constitution like that of England—it is exactly the contrary—it is particularly false in a mixed Government like that of England—in a country where the Crown is held by recorded compact, and the Parliament sits by temporary representation—it is peculiarly false in a country where the Parliament and the Crown stand upon the powers of the society, interposing without any authority but that of the society, and assembled in a most respectable and comprehensive description, and with the assent of the great body of the nation, deposing one King, electing another, and constituting a Parliament, and such awe did they entertain for their Constitution, that they acted as a Convention but for a moment, to set up a Parliament for an eternity—to do what—to repair every thing, to preserve every thing, and to abolish nothing, save only the abuses that threatened to abolish the Constitution.—On this subject he not only errs in his reasoning, but his conception of reasoning on the subject is fallacy and error, he affects to measure the elements of human justice by the elements of British empire. Do not admit the principle of justice, do not admit human right, else what becomes of our conquest of Wales, else what becomes of our Union with Scotland? He might have gone on—he might have extended his argument to the East and West Indies, had the British Parliament succeeded in its attempts on America. He would have more argument of this nature; but what is all this to us? If Scotland chose to transfer her Legislature to England, or if Wales were conquered, is that a reason why Ireland should ad-

mit

mit the competency of the Parliament to surrender her rights, or the justice and validity of a right of conquest—the fact is, that the acquiescence of Scotland for a century, and the acquiescence of Wales for many centuries, have become the laws of these respective countries; the practice and the consent of nations for periods of time become their laws, and make the original act of combination, whether it be conquest or treachery, no longer scrutable nor material. In a course of years, conquest may be the foundation of connexion, and rape of marriage; such has been, not seldom, the elements of empire; but such are not the elements of justice; the principles of right and wrong so intermix in centuries of human dealing, as to become inseparable like light and shade; but does it follow that there is no such thing as light and shade; no such thing as right and wrong—I am sure that the right of England to the acquisitions above stated are perfectly sound and unquestionable; I should be sorry it were otherwise; and therefore I am exceedingly glad it does not rest on the ground on which he has placed it.

I might however waive all this and produce against him two authorities, to either of which in this case he must submit, the one is the Parliament of Ireland, the other is himself, after having denied in substance the power of the people, which he calls a sovereignty in abeyance—and after having maintained in terms absolutely unqualified,—the unlimited authority of Parliament, that is, its omnipotence, he does acknowledge reluctantly and at length that Parliament is not unlimited,—and that there does exist in the society a power in abeyance, he tells you there may be a case of abuse calling for the interference of the people collectively, or of a great portion thereof, as at the revolution of 1788. I suppose, now if there can be such a case of abuse calling for such an interference; there must be a power in abeyance to answer that call, and to question that abuse, and the point in dispute is not touching the application of that power but its existence, the other authority, namely the Parliament of Ireland, has publicly, solemnly, and unanimously, disclaimed and renounced, in the following memorable and eternal expressions, any competency whatever to transfer or surrender the unalienable right and inheritance of the People of Ireland, to be governed by no other Parliament whatsoever, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland—
 “The right of the People of Ireland to be subject to laws made
 “by the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, and no other, is
 “their ancient inheritance, which we claim on our part and on
 “theirs, and which we cannot surrender but with life.” What
 will the Minister say now—but he has more difficulties against him—he has his own authority, against his own project;—he states, that his object is identification of people—he says, it is not the English Navy, it is not the English Militia, nor the English
 Treasury,

Treasury, nor the Irish Yeoman, nor the Irish Parliament, that can save you—they may by chance succeed—but your great dependence is the identification of the People of the two Nations—he states farther, that this identification is necessary for a present purpose—namely, the defence of the empire against the ambition of France:—here then is the great principle of his Union, as expressed by himself, the identification of the People of the two Nations, for a present purpose—according to that principle, let us examine his project—it is not an identification of People, as it excludes the Catholic from the Parliament and the State—it is not an identification of Government, for it retains the Lord Lieutenant and his Court—it is not an identification of Establishments—it is not an identification of Revenue—it is not an identification of Commerce—for you have still relative duties, and countervailing duties—it is not an identification of Interests—because England relieves herself as she encreases the proportion of Irish taxation, and diminishes her burthens, by communicating them to Ireland—the present Constitution may be said to be nearly an equal trade, and an equal liberty—and the Union to be a tax and a draw back upon that equal trade, and upon that equal liberty—for so much a diminution of that identification of interests, if it be not an identification of interests, still less is it an identification of feeling and of sympathy, the Union, then, is not an identification of the two nations; it is merely a merger of the Parliament of one nation, in that of the other;—one nation, namely England, retains her full proportion—Ireland strikes off two-thirds—she does so, without any regard either to her present number, or to comparative physical strength;—she is more than one-third in population, in territory, and less than one-sixth in representation—thus there is no identification in any thing, save only in Legislature, in which there is a complete and absolute absorption—it follows, that the two nations are not identified, though the Irish Legislature be absorbed, and by that act of absorption the feelings of one of the nations not identified but alienated—the petitions on our table bespeak that alienation—the administration must by this time be acquainted with it, they must know that Union is Irish alienation, and knowing that, they must be convinced that they have the authority of the Ministers argument against the Ministers project—I am not surprised that this project of Union should alienate the Irish, they consider it as a blow—two Honourable Gentlemen have expressed that sentiment with an ardour which does them honour—ingenious young men, they have spoken with unsophisticated feeling, and the native honesty of good sense. The question is not now such as occupied you of old, not old Poynings, not peculation, not plunder, not an embargo, not a Catholic bill, not a Reform bill—it is your being—it is more, it is your life to come whether you will go with the Castle at your head to the tomb of Charlemont and the Volunteers;

teers, and erase his Epitaph—or whether your children shall go to your graves saying a venal, a military Court attacked the liberties of the Irish, and here lie the bones of the honourable dead men who saved their country.—Such an Epitaph is a nobility, which the King cannot give his slaves—it is a glory which the Crown cannot give the King.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said he thought it necessary to say a few words in answer to the abstract speech of the Hon. Gentleman who had spoken last, respecting the competence of Parliament. Every Constitution, however founded in wisdom, or however administered with justice, contained within itself from the nature of human affairs, the seeds of decay, and there must subsist somewhere, a power capable of counteracting the effects which these causes would in time inevitably produce; and this must be the Sovereign Power wherever it was lodged; that in the British Constitution that power was lodged in the Parliament was a proposition which could not be seriously doubted. The Hon. Gentleman had quoted Locke, Bolingbroke, and Junius, but he (Mr. Corry) would beg leave to refer him to authorities, some earlier and some later, from the time of Fleta to Blackstone, which would establish this proposition; that there must subsist somewhere a remedial power to correct those evils, which in time must necessarily arise. He begged to ask the Hon. Gentleman if that power was not vested in Parliament, with whom it was lodged? would he say it was vested with the body of electors? what part of the Constitution justified that assertion? The functions of the electors were confined to the choosing of representatives to transact that business, which the electors could not transact for themselves. Would the H. Gentleman say it was vested in the people at large? That would be an appeal from the Parliament to the people, to decide that which Parliament was chosen to decide from the physical impossibility of the people exercising such a power themselves. It was clear that if such a power did not subsist, there were no means by which the benefits of the Constitution could be permanently secured; and if it did subsist, it was equally clear that it could only be vested in, and exercised by Parliament.—The Hon. Gentleman had spoken of a social compact, as paramount to the Constitution, but he had omitted to state when that compact was made, by whom it was made, where it was deposited or recorded, and by what means and on what occasions it was to supersede the authority of Parliament. Such a power as that which must exist under this imaginary compact would be incompatible with the existence of the British Constitution, by which the sovereign power of the State was vested without reservation in the King, Lords, and Commons. In the course of his speech the Honourable Gentleman had

had thought proper to detail at some length several instances in which Ireland had been oppressed by the Parliament of Great Britain. He could not but applaud the moderation with which the Hon. Gentleman had spoken upon this subject, though he could not but express his disapprobation of the principles he had advanced and the effects they were likely to produce. He had mentioned two acts of Charles the second, the one of which prohibited the Irish from exporting their cattle, and the other prohibited them the colony trade, and the act of King William, which prevented the exportation and destroyed the manufacture of wool in Ireland. But in commenting upon them, the Hon. Gentleman had not thought it necessary to state that those acts were no longer in existence, and that the policy which dictated them was no more. Had the People of Ireland been brought to the bar, as had been proposed by an Hon. Baronet (Sir J. Parnell) would not the grazier have thought from the manner in which the Hon. Gentleman spoke, that the penalties of the act were in force, and that the exportation of cattle was prohibited? Would not the woollen manufacturer have thought that there was a prohibition, by an English act of Parliament against the exportation of wool from Ireland? To declaim upon grievances which had long ceased to exist, could hardly be calculated for, but certainly could answer, no other end than that of inflaming the public mind. He would not follow the Hon. Gentleman through any more of his speech, but he thought it necessary to observe upon two topics which had been mentioned in the debate; the first was with regard to a compact between Great Britain and Ireland respecting the Linen Trade, and the other was an assertion which had been made, that special authority had been given to the Scotch Parliament to enact the Union with England. With respect to the former, it had been stated early in the debate that the Linen Trade of Ireland to Great Britain was secured by a compact between the two countries in the reign of King William, by which the export of Woollens from Ireland to foreign countries was given up on the one hand, and the encouragement of the Linen Trade of Ireland was stipulated on the other. He begged to apprise the Hon. Gentleman who made that statement, that he was adopting a very dangerous ground on which to defend the Linen Trade of Ireland: In Great Britain that compact was understood very differently, and it was contended there, that whatever the compact was, it in fact no longer subsisted, the consideration on the part of Ireland having been withdrawn; the facts with respect to that compact on which this argument was founded, were these:—In the reign of William the Third, when that arrangement was made on the addresses of the two Houses of the English Parliament, by which the woollen exports of Ireland to foreign countries was to be discontinued,

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and the linen manufacture in Ireland was to be encouraged, the Irish Parliament passed an act, prohibiting the exportation of woollens for four years. That act expired, and the prohibition was never renewed by any act of the Irish Parliament. There was, however, an act passed in the English Parliament, 10th William III. by which that prohibition was continued, and as the acts of the Parliament of England did at that time bind Ireland in fact, the export of Irish woollens to foreign countries was still prohibited. In 1779 Ireland demanded a free trade; and in 1782 the repeal of the 6th George I. declaring the right of the Parliament of Great Britain to bind Ireland; but in consequence of the act of Renunciation, the act of the 10th Wm. III. passed in England became no longer in force, and the export of Irish woollens no longer prohibited. If, therefore, that prohibition, which was the consideration on the part of Ireland was withdrawn, the compact did in consequence no longer continue in force; and therefore no right could be set up, under that compact, to the British market and to British preferences and bounties for the Irish linen manufacture. Such were the statements of those who profess to state the facts, and to argue from them with respect to that compact. It was not, therefore, the safest ground on which to rest the claims of Ireland, with respect to the linen manufacture in Great Britain.—Upon the subject of the incompetency of Parliament, it had been observed by an Hon. Bart. (Sir John Parnell) that the Scotch Parliament acted under special authority in enacting the Union. First, it was to be observed, that no such special authority was ever pretended with respect to the Parliament of England; and as to the Scotch Parliament, it would be seen whether the facts would support the arguments founded upon it by the Hon. Bart. In 1702, the Parliaments of England and of Scotland, which were in being at the accession of the Queen in both countries, each passed an act to enable the Queen to appoint Commissioners to treat of a Union between the two kingdoms; and immediately after passing these acts, the Parliaments were both dissolved, in 1702. The Commissioners appointed met in the same year, and continued their deliberations, notwithstanding the dissolution of the old and the election of the new Parliament, till the month of July in the following year, when they were finally adjourned. It was to be presumed, that had these Commissioners concluded on terms, the treaty would have been ratified by the Legislatures respectively, and it was not pretended that the Parliament of Scotland had any special authority for passing that act, for appointing Commissioners, nor for carrying the treaty into effect, had it been concluded before their dissolution. Now the fact relied upon by those who stated a special authority having been given to the Parliament of Scotland to conclude a treaty of Union was

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this:—on the summoning a new Parliament in Scotland the proclamation issued by the Queen recited two points, that whereas she was engaged in an expensive war, and whereas by authority of acts of both Parliaments, she had appointed Commissioners to treat of a Union to be ratified by both Parliaments, therefore the Parliament was to be called. It was not stated by any writer except De Foe that any special authority of any kind was given to the Scotch Parliament, nor even hinted at by any cotemporary author, and it was now confidently stated that this mention of the Union in that Proclamation was the only trace of any document on which special authority could be suggested. It was further to be observed that as to the duties which took place in consequence of their dissolution no special notification whatever to the electors of Scotland was made upon the subject of Union, her writs for election had nothing special—the proceedings at the election had nothing special—the returns had nothing special, and no special instructions or authorities of any sort did in any part of Scotland take place. Had such special authority been necessary, had all the acts of former Parliaments for accomplishing an Union been defective for want of such special authority, it was to be presumed that some more special notification on the subject would have been made, some more special proceedings had, and some special record would some where or other have been made of the grant of such authority.—It was perhaps fair to presume that in such a case the Parliament would have thought right to record in the act, in which they exercised special, and above their ordinary powers, the grant of that authority. No such record, however, nor any thing relating to special authority in their legislative acts for confirming the Union. Mr. Corry concluded with stating, that at so very late an hour he would not trespass longer upon the indulgence of the House.

Dr. DUIGENAN—I am unwilling to give my vote in support of a measure of such importance as the consolidation of the realms of Great Britain and Ireland by an incorporating Union, without explaining to my countrymen the reasons which have influenced me to contribute my weak assistance to so momentous a measure. I shall endeavour to compress them into as small a compass as possible: premising, however, that I feel no inconsiderable portion of dissatisfaction, in perceiving that my sentiments on this occasion are different from those of many able men, as remarkable for their public spirit, as for integrity, extent and strength of talents, natural and acquired, and with whose political opinions, since I took any part in public business, I have heretofore generally concurred. I confess that I feel some consolation in observing, that I differ also in opinion on the present business from other gentlemen, with whose political opinions, I never did, nor ever will

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concur, and that although there is a division among the loyal and staunch friends of the Constitution on the present question, yet there is an entire coincidence of opinion on it among all Jacobin traitors throughout the kingdom, they to a man are hostile to it—their principles I abhor; and I cannot refrain from expressing my uneasiness at perceiving many loyal citizens of Dublin in this particular, dupes to the practices and deceptions of that dangerous anarchical blood-thirsty crew. I am fortified in my opinion on this occasion by reflecting, that notwithstanding the hostility of some able honest men to the measure, men of equal integrity and ability support it, and I think the persons of that description, friends to it, are much more numerous than those of the same description, who appear in the ranks of the adversary. I shall first make a few observations on the present state of the natural and political connexion between Great Britain and Ireland. The latter kingdom, from its geographical situation, is shut out from all intercourse with the northern parts of Europe, except by the permission of Great Britain: and as Great Britain lies between it and all parts of Europe, from Britany to the Northern Pole, so it is in its power to prevent in a great measure its communication with all the southern parts of Europe; for Ireland, in respect to all Europe, lies as it were behind Great Britain; it is also divided from Great Britain by a narrow channel only, extending the whole length of Ireland from North to South, in some places not above six leagues wide. Its political connexion with Great Britain I shall take up on the basis of its Settlement in 1782, which is now insisted upon by the adversaries of an Incorporating Union, as a final Settlement between the two kingdoms, never to be changed or altered. Ireland is connected with Great Britain by having one branch of its Legislative power, to wit, the regal branch and the whole of its executive power, in common with Great Britain, and the person invested with its whole executive power, and with a part of its Legislative power, endowed with a veto on all deliberative resolutions of the other two branches of the Legislature, resides in Great Britain: by the Settlement of 1782, no bill, after it has passed the two Houses of Parliament in Ireland can become a law, till after it has been sent into Great Britain, under the Great Seal of Ireland, and is returned from thence under the Great Seal of Great Britain; that is in fact, till after it has been approved of by his Majesty, and his British Cabinet Council; so that under the Settlement of 1782, the British Ministry can prevent the enactment of any law whatsoever in this kingdom; and it seems to me that there is some inaccuracy in stating the Legislature of this kingdom to be independent under these circumstances. Certain I am, that I have heard grievous complaints of the control of the British Cabinet exercised over the Legislature of this kingdom, and the disastrous effects on this

kingdom of a double Cabinet, English and Irish, very pathetically insisted upon by gentlemen, who now oppose an Incorporating Union on the principle of its subverting the Settlement of 1782, and the independence of this kingdom. I have been somewhat surprized at finding this House so frequently amused with declamations on the point, whether the Settlement of 1782 was intended by the two kingdoms as a final adjustment of all matters in dispute then, so as effectually to secure their perpetual connexion necessary to the happiness, almost to the existence of both as free states, and to preclude all future possibility of separation. —I look on the question, whether that Settlement, at the time it was concluded, was considered or intended to be final or not, as totally immaterial. Debates upon it put me in mind of the conduct of Lawyers on a suit, as described by that sagacious observer of mankind, Captain Lemuel Gulliver:—"In pleading," says the Captain, "they studiously avoid entering into the merits of the cause; but are loud, violent, and tedious, in dwelling upon all circumstances which are not to the purpose; for instance, if my neighbour claims my cow, they never desire to know what title my adversary has to my cow, but whether the said cow were red or black, her horns long or short, whether the field I graze her in were round or square, and the like."

The true question on the settlement of 1782 to be resolved by this House, is, whether that Settlement be such as does effectually secure the perpetual connexion of the two kingdoms? and not whether it was considered as final at the time it was entered into. —Sir, the present connexion between Great Britain and Ireland is such as has no parallel in the history of the world: it contains in it anomalies heretofore unknown to the law of nations, and the seeds of dissolution; these anomalies must be corrected, and these seeds must be effectually prevented from striking roots, which can only be effected by an Incorporating Union of the two kingdoms. Separation, or rather an unsuccessful attempt at separation, which will be attended with the utter ruin and desolation of this kingdom by civil war, will be the unavoidable and necessary consequence of the rejection of that only effectual remedy.—The present connexion between these two kingdoms is not similar to an alliance offensive and defensive between two independent nations, which depends on stipulations entered into by the two contracting parties for mutual security; for if the conditions of the alliance are not performed by one of them, the other may break off from the alliance, and look to other security, or take such measures as it may think proper for its own defence, and may at any time enter into leagues and treaties with other powers not inconsistent with its offensive and defensive alliance, and either party has a right to proclaim war or make peace on reasonable terms, and to call on the other to assist in war with its stipulated quota, or to concur

concur in a pacification on reasonable terms, or such as it may deem reasonable : but the case is quite otherwise with Ireland in respect to Great Britain ; proclamation of war on the part of Great Britain against any power whatsoever, immediately involves Ireland in hostilities, as part of the British empire, and Great may make peace without consulting in any manner with Ireland on the terms or conditions, and without stipulating in any manner for her indemnity or compensation for her losses in the war. Ireland cannot enter into any treaty whatsoever, either commercial or otherwise, with any foreign power, but is bound by all the treaties into which Great Britain enters, without being even consulted on the expediency of them. Surely, sir, these are great badges of dependency ; I have heard gentlemen at the other side of the House complain bitterly of them, and whilst they assert the independence of this nation on Great Britain, and assert that such independence was secured by the Settlement of 1782, and on that score struggle to support that Settlement as final, and reprobate all alteration, and consequently an Incorporating Union : they cannot but admit the present connexion between the two nations, as settled in 1782, to be a connexion degrading, and in a high degree detrimental to this nation, and that it contains within itself, a mine of combustibles, which one day or other will be sprung, and involve the country in confusion, ruin and desolation, which it will take a century to repair. Exclusive of the aforesaid great imperial sources of discontent and animosity between the two nations, arising from the very nature of their present connexion, are there no other causes of disunion interwoven with it ? What loud complaints have we repeatedly heard in this House, of the shackled state of our commerce by our present connexion with Great Britain since the year 1782 ? Are these causes removed ? It is admitted, that the Settlement of 1782 was not final with respect to the Tariff between the two nations ; we rejected the commercial propositions since 1782, which were designed to settle that Tariff, with disdain, on a supposition that they trenchd on our imaginary independence ; professing that we would not barter constitution for commerce. Is the Channel Trade between Great Britain and Ireland, yet settled to our satisfaction ? Is the India Trade ? Are numberless other causes of discontent, jealousy and emulation on the point of trade between these two commercial and adjacent nations, yet removed ? Are the mouths of our ranting patriots continually bellowing in our ears, that the interests and pursuits of the two nations in point of trade are incompatible and irreconcilable ; and that the animosity of the inhabitants of the two countries is instinctive, yet closed ? Or are they ever likely to be closed in the present state of correspondence and brittle connexion of the two countries ? Surely not ; the present connexion between them is rather a faithless truce,

truce, *infide inducia*! than a permanent state of harmony and peace. Federal Unions, such as was that of the United Provinces, being an Union of a number of small Republics for mutual defence, the present Union of the several states of America, and of the Germanic Body, have been always accounted weak and inefficient, we know by experience they are so: look to Germany, look to the United Provinces; they will all in process of time submit to the same fate with the United Provinces, that is, be reduced to slavery by a potent neighbour; or will break and separate into distinct Sovereignties independent of each other. Yet the present connexion between Great Britain and Ireland is more infirm and fleeting than even a federal Union: for in a federal Union an assembly is formed by deputies sent from all the states which compose it, as the States General of the United Provinces, the Diet of the German Empire, the Congress of America, which assembly is empowered to decide and determine on all matters necessary to their common security and interest, and to whose decisions the whole Union is bound to submit. But there is no such common assembly to support the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, and to consult for the respective interests of both. Such a connexion can never be supported but by the decided superiority of the one state arising from superior strength and opulence, and the decided inferiority of the other in both particulars. Hence it arises, that it will always be the interest of the stronger to retain the weaker in its state of inferiority: and of the weaker to struggle for equality at least, and to endeavour to free itself from subjection to the other by every possible or feasible means. Such a connexion is always hollow, attended by tumult and disorders constantly encreasing and fermenting and at length ending in civil war and absolute subjugation; or separation by the interested assistance of some ambitious neighbour. The probable durability of the present connexion between Great Britain and Ireland cannot be supported by any arguments drawn from the circumstance, that his Majesty and his Progenitors for three generations have enjoyed the crown of Great Britain and the Electoral dignity, as Sovereigns of Hanover, without any convulsion, or probability of his being disturbed in the enjoyment of both; it cannot be from thence inferred, that the connexion of Great Britain and Ireland, which since 1782, depends on their having a common Sovereign, may be reasonably expected to endure without the prospect of any convulsive pangs of disunion or separation. For the King of Great Britain is not Elector of Hanover, by virtue of his being King of Great Britain. And the interests of Great Britain and Hanover are so completely distinct, that the English Ministry can have no necessity of interfering with the Regency of Hanover, or its interests, external or internal, nor can they ever clash: his Majesty of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, is a vassal and subject of the Emperor, and
Hanover

Hanover is a province of the German empire, from which it cannot be severed whilst the Germanic Body exists, it never can have any further connexion with Great Britain than it has at present; and the intercourse between the two countries is extremely confined, as Hanover lies on the Continent, is almost surrounded by the other German provinces, and has but a very contracted communication with the sea; nor can there exist any cause of dissension between Great Britain and Hanover considered as a distinct principality; and the King of Great Britain may ever remain a subject of the empire as Elector of Hanover, without the interference of Great Britain to support her title to the Electorate, and without its being at all material to Great Britain, whether he is or is not Elector of Hanover. But every one of these circumstances are directly reversed when the connexion between Great Britain and Hanover is compared with that which has subsisted between Great Britain and Ireland since the year 1782.—When gentlemen insist that a Settlement between the two nations in 1782 is final, and consequently wants no amendment or alteration, that it is in itself sufficient to maintain a connexion between the two countries, and that any further Union is unnecessary; I cannot but wonder by what arguments any of them will support their own consistency. Gentlemen whom I have heard arguing with the utmost vehemence in every session of Parliament since that period, for the necessity of alterations in the established Constitution of Ireland, as well in respect to its internal provisions for the government of the subjects, as in external regulations respecting its connexions with England, which they now assert were finally and for ever settled in 1782:—Witness the complaints of the inequality of the Channel Trade; of the exclusion from the East India Trade; of the importation of English Manufactures: of the contraction of the Colony Trade, and of the Woollen Manufacture of Ireland; of the want of protecting Duties; of the interference of the English Cabinet with Irish affairs; and of the double Cabinet, of the history of the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, being a history of oppression and in injury on the part of Britain, as well before as since the year 1782; of fugacious English Administrations in Ireland not accountable for their conduct to the Irish Parliament, of Ireland being involved in the wars of Great Britain, without being consulted on the expediency of war or peace, or having any power to promote or obstruct either the one or the other; of the incapacity of Ireland to treat with foreign states; its total deprivation of all federative capacity: with a multitude of other inconveniencies, defects and imperfections of the Settlement of 1782, and perpetual declamations on the necessity of Reforms, Emancipations, &c. directly tending to the utter subversion of the present Constitution and the Settlement of 1782, yet these are the very gentlemen who now rest their principal

pal argument against an Incorporating Union on the perfection of the system of 1782, insisting that all attempts further to strengthen the connexion between the two realms as settled in 1782, and to extinguish national animosities, are not only unnecessary, but pernicious and destructive to Ireland.—I will now proceed to state and answer the other objections which I have heard urged against an Incorporating Union of the two kingdoms; as I shall have an opportunity in my progress of stating, and I hope of proving, the positive advantages which must result to Ireland from it: and the ruin and destruction which will be the certain consequences of its rejection. It is first objected, that the independence of Ireland will be destroyed by an Incorporating Union with Great Britain. I have already pretty fully demonstrated, that Ireland in its present situation cannot be considered as an independent kingdom, properly speaking: and besides if independence applied to Ireland, means *the substantive independence of a kingdom unconnected with any other nation, save by treaties of amity containing reciprocal obligations entered into between equals, and possessing an Imperial Government within itself.* It is pretty plain to common understandings, that Ireland in that sense is not now an independent nation, for Ireland is a province of the British empire. The crown of Ireland is not an Imperial crown, it is inseparably united, annexed to, and independent upon the Imperial crown of England, (now the Imperial crown of Great Britain), and whoever is King of Great Britain, is ipso facto, King of Ireland.—Such is the language of our own Statute law, repeated over and over again in our Statute books unrepealed, and which never can be repealed; because his Majesty of Great Britain can never give his Royal assent to any law authorising the spoliation of his Royal Diadem, by tearing the most valuable jewels from it, unless compelled by fatal necessity, and the successful issue of rebellion, which Heaven avert!—But should it be even admitted that Ireland is an independent nation, how can it be inferred or proved that she would lose her independence, or any degree of independence which she may now enjoy, by an Incorporating Union with Great Britain:—by such Union she becomes one body with Great Britain, and consequently must enjoy equal independence with Great Britain:—they will together form one consolidated independent Empire: the part of that Empire West of the Irish Channel, will be as independent as that part of England south of the Trent, and that part North of the Trent, or that part of Great Britain, North of the Tweed; and Ireland will be no more a province dependent on England, than England or Scotland are provinces dependant on Ireland, or on one another. The objection seems to me to be founded on sophistry, on this deceitful position, *that each part of the same body, being dependent in same measure upon the rest of the body, the whole*
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thus composed of parts dependent on each other, cannot be said to form one independent body, because it is composed of dependent particles; though whilst they adhere together they form one body detached from all others. The Gentlemen who support such a dogma, would do well to consider how they can, in such reasoning, maintain the independence of Ireland: for by the same argument, the four provinces of Ireland being dependent each on the other three, the four together cannot form one independent body.

It is in the second place objected, that the superior number of British members in the Imperial Parliament, will give them the power of oppressing Ireland, and infringing the conditions on which an incorporating Union may be concluded.

I admit that there must be a power in all states paramount and supreme, that can alter or abrogate all the laws and regulations of the State; for the manifest good and advantage of the subjects, and enact new laws for the same purposes; but such supreme power is restrained within the bounds of reason and justice, and the present argument is founded on a presumption of fraud and ill-faith, which the principles of natural law, as well as the express maxims of our own municipal law, forbid us to entertain. Our own law tells us that fraud is not to be presumed. When King Henry VIII. consulted the judges, then removable at the will of the Crown, on the question whether a bill of attainder passed against a man by Parliament, then also enslaved, without calling on the object of it to answer, or giving him a trial—would be valid? the judges told him that such an act, from the transcendent power of Parliament, would be valid; but they trusted that so great and honourable a Tribunal as that of Parliament would never degrade itself, and make so flagitious an use of their supreme authority, as to adopt such a proceeding against any man. And an answer of a similar nature might be sufficient to the present objection, the Parliament being now independent, because there is a mighty difference between power itself and the just or unjust exercise of it; and the objection can have no weight if we are to presume, as by law we are directed, that the Imperial Parliament will be guided by justice in their proceedings. But there still remains a more powerful answer to the objection, and that is, that the conditions of an incorporating Union must be canvassed fully in the two Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, before any Union can be effected; and it is morally certain, that no conditions will be agreed to, which shall not be deemed by these Parliaments, who are supposed to understand the interests of their country, advantageous as well to the nations respectively, as to the empire at large. And when the two nations shall become one by an incorporating Union, can it be supposed that the Imperial Parliament will ever attempt to infringe the conditions promotive of the interests of each country in particular, and of the whole body in

general. Such a proceeding with respect to either country would injure the whole body, and would be therefore contrary to the interest of the infringers; as it would be destructive of the sanity and strength of the whole human body for all the parts, the leg excepted, to conspire to wither the leg; therefore there can be no apprehension of the breach of the conditions of an incorporating Union by the Imperial Parliament, to the prejudice of Ireland; unless we shall suppose that the British Members shall all become blind, as well to justice as to their own interest. Besides it may be stipulated in the treaty of Union, that any breach of the conditions shall be deemed a dissolution of the Union; as was done in the treaty of Union of England and Scotland; and experience has proved, that no attempt at a breach of the conditions of that Union was ever made. I can only conceive one case in which the conditions of an incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland may be altered, and that is, when all, or a very great majority of the representatives of one of the contracting nations, shall petition for an alteration of any of the articles which peculiarly affects one of them, without any special interest in the other to resist such a change: In that case I apprehend an alteration might be justly made, on the principle of *Volenti non fit injuria*.

It is objected, 3dly, That Ireland by an Incorporating Union will become subject to the heavy taxes and debt of Great Britain. This objection may be entirely done away, by inserting stipulations in the treaty of Union, that Ireland shall be only liable to such portion of the public burthens, as are suitable to her means and finances. Such stipulations in favour of Scotland have been inserted in the treaty of Union between England and Scotland, and have never been violated.—But this objection is in truth founded on deception, for it is founded on the baseless assumption, that Ireland, after an Incorporating Union shall take place, will remain in its present situation, or a worse in points of trade, improvement and opulence. Whereas it is obvious, that Ireland possessing as fertile a soil as Great Britain, and being, when incorporated with that nation, as advantageously situated for commerce, must become in time, and not at a very remote period, equal to Great Britain in local population, commerce and wealth. Her inhabitants being then on an exact level with those of Great Britain, intermixed with them, and becoming one people with them, the present industrious habits and pursuits of the one nation, its commerce and manufactures must be speedily communicated to the other, and become common to both: and when we contemplate the happiness, wealth, and comforts of life which the inhabitants of Great Britain enjoy at present in a much superior degree (though liable to the present heavy debts and taxes) to the inhabitants of Ireland, what Irishman would repine, or have cause to complain, if the inhabitants of Ireland were put on an exact level

level in all these particulars with the inhabitants of Great Britain; If we shall, in case of an Incorporating Union, have heavier taxes they will be no grievances, if we shall have more ample sources of wealth, a greater capacity of paying, and greater funds remaining to expend on our comforts and enjoyments.—I am aware, that it has been asserted by a very great and truly respectable authority, that the trade of Ireland cannot and will not be increased by an Incorporating Union? and it has been attempted to be proved that the trade of Ireland could not be injured by Great Britain, if she should design to injure it, for that Ireland has other and as lucrative markets for her commodities as Great Britain; my own want of skill in commercial affairs, and my settled opinion of the ability and extensive information of the assertor of these doctrines, to me at least novel, induced me, after their publication, to consider them with great attention, to examine the documents on which they were founded, and to read the several answers to them which have appeared, as well in the English as the Irish prints, and after the very best and most mature consideration of them, I profess I cannot acquiesce in them; for, in the first place, as to the proportionate commerce and opulence of Great Britain, vastly exceed those of Ireland, I cannot well conceive, when Ireland, situated as she is, and possessing as fertile a soil as Great Britain, shall form one and the same body with Great Britain by an Incorporating Union, that part of that body shall continue in the greatest health and vigour, and that another part, with all the vital juices in sell and free circulation, without any obstruction whatsoever to impede their course, shall remain in a debilitated and withered state: on the contrary, I am clearly of opinion, that the wealth and commerce of Great Britain must by an Union be communicated with Ireland, and that Ireland will thereby acquire a proportionate and local equality in trade with Great Britain and every part of it.—In the second place, I am convinced that Ireland is indebted for almost her whole commerce to Great Britain; she has opened to Ireland the trade of her colonies; she has shielded her principal manufactures, to which she has opened her own markets; with bounties, and restrained the importation of manufactures of the same nature from other countries by duties. At no other markets on the face of the globe could the manufactures of Ireland be disposed of to the same advantage; she affords a ready market, ready sale, and speedy return for the commodities of Ireland, which no other nation could afford; and which we would offer: nor could Irish capitals support the same trade with other nations, who would require longer credits. British fleets secure the foreign commerce of Ireland throughout the globe, and the hostility of Great Britain to Ireland would at once annihilate almost all Irish commerce, and manufactures; and the balance of trade between Great Britain and Ireland is much in favour of the latter kingdom.—

Fourthly,

Fourthly, it is objected, that the City of Dublin will be depopulated and injured, and its trade ruined by an incorporating Union. Of all the objections against the measure, this has the greatest weight with the mass of the people, and yet it is infinitely the weakest: Such has been the power of deception, that this fallacious argument has imposed upon and misled the loyal Citizens of Dublin, who, in the late atrocious Rebellion so courageously stood forth the champions and the bulwarks of the Constitution in Church and State, and has so far blinded their understandings as to render them careless even of their own preservation, of their liberties and properties, and induced them to permit themselves to be made the dupes and tools of the sanguinary Jacobin Traitors, who so lately deluged their country with the best Protestant blood in the nation; the Conspirators who originally planned that bloody insurrection, and the ruffians employed in the massacres with which it was accompanied, and whose carcasses justly forfeited to the law, have been bailed from the executioner, by what has been stiled the lenity of Government, now openly and triumphantly appear, leading the deluded citizens to the altars of rebellion, conspiracy and sedition, there to enter into engagements for the subversion of the Constitution, and to affix their signatures, at the desire of the pardoned and ungrateful traitors, to the manifestoes of threatened and meditated insurrection. Bound as I am from general, and in many instances personal attachment, gratitude and interest, to promote to the extremity of my abilities, the welfare and prosperity of the City of Dublin, in which, though not my native place, I have been nurtured and educated from my early infancy; and which comprehends so many of my closest and most valued connections, I cannot view with indifference this fatal delusion of many of its most loyal and worthy citizens. I heartily deplore it, and shall use, my endeavours to awake them to the calls of loyalty, honour, security and peace.

I have already, I trust, proved, that the trade and wealth of Ireland must be increased by an Union; which will open sources of commerce yet unknown in this country; it will increase wealth in the same proportion, and capital must increase by the additional security which the lives and properties of the inhabitants of Ireland will acquire by such Union; and the city of Dublin must participate largely in the increased commerce, wealth and capital of the nation at large, Dublin is situated about midway in the Irish channel. Its port, though not accessible by ships of as great burthen as that of Liverpool, yet is a much better port than that of the latter place, much more easily accessible, and ships of three or four hundred tons, large enough for carrying on commerce to any part of the globe, may resort to it. Dublin is capable of receiving great improvements as a commercial city, sufficient to secure to it for ever a decided superiority in point of trade over every other

other town in Ireland; and if an annual sum shall be appropriated out of the treasury for completing the two canals, which communicate with it on the north and south, (already far advanced) under proper regulations, so as to finish the water-carriage from Dublin in the Shannon, it will extend into Connaught, and may be further extended in that province by means of the river Suck. Such an improvement will secure for ever to Dublin the exclusive import and export trade of this island, in a tract of country the best in the kingdom, of near one hundred miles broad, and reaching almost from the channel to the Western Ocean. The completing these canals at the public expence, may be made one of the articles of the Union, and will alone compensate ten-fold for any partial loss which it is suggested that Dublin may suffer by it; for it is not even pretended that the nation at large will suffer by an Union in point of commerce; all that is attempted to be proved (and the proof has totally failed) is, that Ireland will not gain in point of trade by this measure. Other advantages to the city of Dublin, not prejudicial to the kingdom at large, may be stipulated for in the treaty of Union. We are now to consider what the loss is, that it is suggested the city will sustain by an incorporating Union. It is suggested, that many other port towns will rise in commerce on the ruins of that of Dublin in case of an Union: I cannot see any reasonable ground for such suggestion, but if there is any, I have already pointed out one effectual method; not only to secure Dublin in its present trade, but to increase it to a degree hitherto never experienced or hoped for.—It is next suggested, that Dublin will decay, as well in population as trade, by its ceasing to be the annual place of meeting of Parliament; and that absentees will will be increased, as well from Dublin as from the rest of the kingdom, by an Union, which will therefore drain the kingdom in general, and Dublin in particular, of great sums of money annually. I cannot think that the kingdom in general, or Dublin in particular, might be drained of great sums of money by the increase of absentees, which, it is supposed, will happen on an Union taking place, for I do not think that it will cause any very material increase of absentees. Already our absentees, and many of them of very great landed estates, are very numerous, and most of our nobility and considerable gentry, who are reputed residents, spend their summers, or a considerable part of them in England, either in or near London, or at the several watering places in England. Thirty of our Peers, and one hundred of our Commoners, are to sit in the Imperial Parliament; of these commoners, sixty-four are to be elected for the counties at large, eighteen more for cities or towns, which are also counties, and the remainder for corporate towns, considerable for their population and extent: so that almost the whole of the Irish representatives in the Commons of the Imperial Parliament will be returned on popular elections.

elections. And all such persons, to secure their interests in the counties and towns which they represent, will be obliged to spend their summers, (the seasons of recess of the Imperial Parliaments) among their Irish constituents, instead of spending them, as they now do, in England. Of the thirty Peers, who are to represent the Irish Peerage in the Imperial Parliament, many will be such as at present spend their whole time, or almost the whole in England; from whence I infer, that Ireland in general will not suffer considerably, perhaps not at all, by an Union. The city of Dublin will certainly lose the partial residence of some of the members of Parliament annually, but not of all; for many persons who are now members of the Irish Parliament, such as the whole body of lawyers now in Parliament, and many others who always reside in or near Dublin, and who will not be of the number elected to the Imperial Parliament, will continue to reside in their usual places of abode. The city will also continue the metropolis of the kingdom, the seat of the courts of justice, and of the viceroy; and upon the whole, cannot, by my computation, suffer any greater annual loss, than about fifty thousand pounds, perhaps less, by an Union; and will certainly be a gainer of several hundreds of thousands annually by the means I have suggested, and by other stipulations in its favour, which may be inserted in the treaty of Incorporating Union. And the city of Dublin will be certainly increased, as well in wealth as population, by such a measure. Pending the treaty for an Union between England and Scotland, the same methods for inflaming the inhabitants of Edinburgh to oppose that measure, were adopted by a discontented party in that kingdom, as are now made use of to inflame the citizens of Dublin. Yet Edinburgh, in less than a century since that Union took place, has been more than doubled in extent and in population; and in trade, wealth and magnificence improved ten-fold. My arguments are therefore warranted, not by reason only, but experience: and the citizens of Dublin will soon have good cause to reprobate and execrate the fraudulent and sanguinary jacobinical assassins, by whom they are at present so fatally misled.—It is in the fifth place objected, that the Irish Parliament is not competent to enter into and conclude a treaty with the sister kingdom for an Incorporating Union. The competency of the Irish Parliament to such a measure, has been so fully and ably proved by an Hon. Member of this H. in his speech on the expediency of an Union in the last session of parliament, which speech has been since printed; and the futility and ineptitude of the objection so fully exposed, that it is not necessary for me to be at much trouble, in scouting that phantom of forensian quibbling inanity out of this house. A brief examination of this doctrine of incompetency of Parliament on the present occasion, may however not be amiss. The best writers on the British Constitution, and those who have wound up their ideas of true political

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political liberty to the highest tone which can consist with any harmony or stability of Government, Mr. Locke in particular, lay it down as a maxim, that each member of the Commonwealth has surrendered to the state, or supreme Legislative power, and vested in it, all his rights under the law of nature. In the 11th chapter of Mr. Locke's treatise on Government, is to be found the following passage. "The supreme Legislative power in every Commonwealth is the joint power of every member of the society, give up to that person or assembly which is Legislator, and is what those persons had in a state of nature before they entered into the society, and gave up to the community." A little further on he adds, "This power, in the utmost bounds of it, is limited to the public good of the society." And in the close of his 19th chapter he writes thus, "The power which every individual gave the society, when he entered into it, can never revert to the individuals again, as long as the society lasts, but will always remain in the community; because without this there can be no community, no commonwealth, which is contrary to the original agreement. So also, when the Society hath placed the Legislative in any Assembly of men to continue in them and their successors, with direction and authority of providing such successors, the Legislative (which he in all places styles the Supreme Power) can never revert to the People whilst that Government lasts: Because having provided a Legislative with power to continue for ever, they have given up their political power to the Legislative, and can never resume it." Montesquieu, in the 6th Chapter of his 14th Book, where he treats of the English Constitution, lays it down as a maxim: "That the People ought to have no share in the Government, but for the choosing of Representatives which is within their reach." It is notorious, that a man in a state of nature has full authority and power to join any other man or set of men, and to form with them a community, or to connect himself with a community already formed, and become a member of that community which is willing to receive him as a member. This natural right each man has given up to the community, and the Supreme Legislative Power of the community is invested with that right, and consequently is competent to join any other commonwealth in an incorporating Union, and to bind all the subjects of the State to that incorporation; and that power of the Legislative is bounded only by the public good of the society, of which it is a better judge than tumultuous unconstitutional and illegal assemblies of the people, and of which, the members of the Commonwealth when they elected them their Representatives, supposed them to be the best judges. Mr. Locke published his treatise on Government in the year 1690, he had been the Secretary and Confidant of the famous Earl of Shaftsbury; and had been educated at Oxford, during

during the domination of the Republican Fanaticks, and was brought up in the extremity of Whig principles, and published his Work at the time civil dissensions were at the highest, for the purpose of justifying the Revolution, at that time a recent transaction not compleatly and fully established. One principal accusation against the abdicated Family was, that they designed to subjugate the kingdom to France. This design was principally attributed to Charles II. and his Ministry, and was one of the accusations of Lord Shaftesbury, the patron of Mr. Locke, against the Court in the reign of that Monarch. Mr. Locke therefore in his 19th Chapter on the dissolution of Governments, states, rather too largely, "that the alteration of the Legislative is a dissolution of Government:" and then subjoins, that "the delivery of the People into the subjection of a foreign Power, either by the Prince, or the Legislative, is certainly a change of the Legislative, and so a dissolution of the Government." In respect to the first position of Mr. Locke, that a change of the Legislative is a dissolution of Government: I believe the Gentlemen who oppose this measure, will scarcely subscribe to the truth of it: For they have for a series of years been preaching on the necessity of a change in the Legislative, as well by abolishing most of the Boroughs, as by new-modelling the remainder; and by extending the Elective Franchise to large bodies of the People, heretofore disqualified by the Laws of the Commonwealth: Some of which pretended Reforming schemes have succeeded, and all which would immediately operate as alterations in the Legislative Body. But it is necessary to advert to the second position of Mr. Locke, and to try whether the conclusion of a Treaty of Incorporating Union with Great Britain by the Irish Legislature, on terms of absolute equality and communication of all privileges, can be deemed a delivery of the Irish Nation into a subjection to a *foreign Power*. It is to be observed in the first place, that Great Britain in respect to Ireland is not a *foreign Power*, both Nations compose one Empire, whose interests with respect to all other Nations is one and the same. Secondly, the Legislatures of the two Nations are not distinct and separate in their present condition: For one branch of the Legislative, and the Supreme Executive, is one and the same in both—Thirdly, the Irish Legislature is not a supreme power in Ireland, for the exercise of its authority may be at all times cramped and impeded by the English Cabinet in many and most instances; and it has no federative or imperial authority respecting foreign nations, nor has its Executive any such authority, as derived from the Irish Legislature; and if the Irish Legislature vested their whole Legislative Authority in the British Legislature, such a proceeding would not amount to the subjection of the Irish Nation to a *foreign Power*, even on Mr. Locke's principles, and to a consequent dissolution of Government. But an Incorporat-

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ing Union with Great Britain admits of no such interpretation, as the delivery of the Irish Nation to a *subjection to Great Britain*. Irish Peers and Irish Representatives of the Commons will sit in the Imperial Parliament with equal privileges, liberties, and immunities with British Peers and British Representatives; the superior numbers of the latter classes to those of the former, arising from superior extent and opulence of the British Nation, can never, as I trust I have already proved, operate to the peculiar disadvantage of Ireland, there can be no inequality of interest between the limbs of the same body, and consequently no subjection, except the due subordination of all the parts of a body, to serve in their respective functions for the general and common advantage of the whole, be subjection. The Representative form of Government will be preserved in its purity and vigour, under the same Sovereign, the same Executive; and no objection on the score of change of the Legislature can, as I apprehend, come with any degree of consistency from the opposite side of the House founded on the diminution, or rather annihilation of the Irish Borough Representation in the new system, which Representation they have so often declaimed against, nor from the junction of the Peers and Representatives of the Commons in both Nations in the same Houses, upon perfect terms of equality; bound together by the ties of common interest, to provide for the safety and prosperity of the whole Empire in general, and of each Nation in particular.—The last objection which I have heard urged against an Incorporating Union, is, that Ireland will be thereby reduced to the condition of a dependent Province.—To this it is a full answer, that Ireland by an Incorporating Union will become, from a really dependent Province, a part of the British Empire, equally independent with every other part of it; that England and Scotland are Provinces of the British Empire, and Ireland will be a Province no more dependent on any Power whatsoever, than England and Scotland are; all the Provinces of an Empire, such as the British, they very basis of whose Government is political Liberty, are so far dependent, the one on the other, as that they are all obliged to concur in the means for their common preservation, and without such concurrence they would all yield to a foreign Power; in such light, but in no other, are they dependent, the one on the other, for mutual defence and security: and may they ever continue in that sense dependant, and be for ever indissolubly United.

It is worth while now to bestow a little consideration on what will be the fate of Ireland, in case of an incorporating Union be rejected.—In the first place it is evident, from the various causes of dispute and animosity between Great Britain and Ireland, now subsisting under their present system of precarious and imperfect connexion, and from the turbulence, avarice and ambition of some, and the jacobinical, anarchical revolutionary principles of other agi-

tators, with whom the country is at present cursed; who have falsely assumed, and thereby debased and degraded the title of Patriots; and from the bitter and malignant spirit of a great portion of the lower order of our inhabitants, inspired by the principles of a gloomy, unfeciable, unrelenting, sanguinary superstition, of perverted religion, that the two nations cannot be kept together for any considerable time by their present frail and brittle bonds of connexion. Separation, therefore, or rather an attempt at separation, from Britain, will be the certain consequence of the rejection of this measure. I will first assume, that a successful attempt at separation shall be effected, it must, if at all, be effected by rebellion, and the assistance of a French army; the civil war will waste this unhappy country from one extremity to the other; and exclusive of the miserable slaughter attendant on a civil war, the whole moveable property of the nation, and all its improvements, will be destroyed and ruined, and the successful surviving rebel will have the miserable triumph of subjecting himself and his posterity to the bondage of France, and becoming a member of a wretched, impoverished, democratic Republic, which will itself be a slave to the French democracy. Ye Protestants of Ireland let me call your attention to what will be your lot in such an event. No successful attempt at separation can be made without your assistance and co-operation, you are now possessed of infinitely the greatest portion of the wealth and property, moveable and immoveable of the nation. You will therefore be infinitely the greatest losers by a rebellion, which will be a gulph to swallow up all property; you must associate yourselves and be companions in arms with the hungry French assassins, and murderous crew of United Irishmen; you did not amount to more than one-third of the inhabitants of Ireland, the other two-thirds are your mortal enemies, as well on the score of your religion, as your riches: when you shall have assisted in your own ruin, and separated yourselves from Britain, and concurred in establishing a democratic Irish Republic; when you shall be reduced to the same equality of indigence which in such case must be the lot of all, when therefore perfect equality of beggary is introduced, and the Irish nation is become the vassal of France, do you expect that you will have any security for your lives? Will the descendants of the Irish murderers in 1641, who massacred in cold blood such multitudes of your ancestors, now double your numbers, and on a level with you in all other respects, and assisted by the sanguinary French robbers in the event of successful rebellion, abstain from their habits of murder? Does their recent conduct at Scullabogue, at Wexford, at Vinegar-hill, inspire you with hopes of safety, when they shall have you in their power? As well may the trembling hind, inclosed in the paws of the ravenous hungry tyger, hope for mercy! The pike and the skeine will soon dispatch such remnant

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of you as may survive the horrors and miseries of even a successful rebellion. And you, ye deluded Citizens of Dublin, whom traitors have found means to detach from your true interests, have you ever considered what is to be unavoidable fate of your city in case of a separation from Great Britain—which, as I have already stated, can never be effected except by rebellion and desolation? Even one years war between Great Britain and Ireland would annihilate your trade, as well as the trade of the whole eastern coast of Ireland.—The naval force of Liverpool alone, which in the war before the present almost annihilated the trade of France, would completely lock up all the Irish ports in the channel, and would not suffer one ship to sail in or out of them, and in case of a separation of the two countries, as they would certainly be in a state of almost perpetual war, whatever trade Ireland would enjoy, and it could be very little, its western ports would engross it, and Dublin would be effectually ruined. Such a state of separation, effected by a successful rebellion, would, in fact, in the first place desolate the kingdom, and destroy one half of its inhabitants; and in the next place would deprive the whole nation of almost all trade, thereby prevents its recovery, and reduce it to, and keep it in the most miserable situation that any nation could be possibly reduced to. All that I have here mentioned would be the inevitable consequences of a successful rebellion, and consequent separation; but what would be the effects of an unsuccessful rebellion in the cause of meditated separation. For it is morally certain that such rebellion and such attempt would be unsuccessful. No person who knows the situation natural and political of Great Britain and Ireland, can deny, that Ireland of itself is unable to cope with Great Britain, even if the inhabitants of Ireland were unanimous: but it is notorious, in case a rebellion was to break out for separation, that the country would be divided, and that before such rebellion could rage for one year, all the Protestants of Ireland, that is almost the whole property of the kingdom, would find it their interest to join the King's standard. The bloody remorseless cruelty, and insatiable thirst for plunder, of the rest of their countrymen, would soon convince them of the necessity of using their arms against them. The present feeble state of the French marine, and the exhausted state of that wretched nation in general, would deprive the rebels of any effectual assistance from that quarter. When the whole Irish Nation (a handful of Protestants in the north of the kingdom excepted) took arms in the year 1688 in favour of king James the second, and the French monarch, Louis XIV. at that time in the zenith of his glory, sent a French army, and an immense supply of all kind of military stores to their assistance, and when his navy rode triumphant on the ocean, England reduced the whole kingdom to the most abject submission in two campaigns; and similar will be the event of any Irish

Irish rebellion undertaken in the cause of separation ; but it will be attended with infinite calamity to the inhabitants of Ireland of all descriptions. We have now our choice, whether we will rush on our own ruin, or embrace with joy the measure of an incorporating Union, the sure pledge of national happiness, prosperity and security. Unconnected as I am with the Government, or its Ministers both in England and Ireland, and attached to it only as a good and loyal subject, in spite of clamour and faction, I must express my sincere wish that the nation may adopt the latter measure. I have long since made my choice ;

Non ardor Civium prava jubentium
Mente quatit solidâ.

Mr. SAURIN said that the Right Hon. Gent. (Mr. Corry) seemed to deny any compact, either express or implied, between the Government and the People, and asked where the record of compact was to be found. Certainly, said Mr. Saurin it was not to be found in the Rolls office, nor in the Exchequer, but it was to be found in the heart of every honest Senator—it was the living extract of reason and justice—and he trusted that every man in that House would have it before his eyes, and consider it well before he voted on a question involving the rights and liberties of the country ; and although the supreme power of the State may not acknowledge any written controul, it was bound by the duties found in that compact formed by the dictates of conscience and the immutable laws of justice, and should not transfer its functions and authority to another country, without the sanction of a full and ascertained majority of the people. The Government and Constitution of this country are founded on compact, solemnly made and universally subscribed to ; and it is most important that the Members of this House, before they renounce the oaths which they have taken, should weigh well the effect which their proceedings may have on the country, and the nature of that system which is recommended to be substituted in the place of that Government under which we have so happily lived—that compact is the foundation of your authority, and when you subvert that compact, you register your incompetency to enter into any other ; you are the trustees of power, and your authority extends to preserve, and not to destroy it.—Between the act of Union, which by your vote of this day you are called on to recommend to your constituents, and any other exercise of legislative powers, there is this striking and essential difference—you may repeal a tax-bill which you pass, but an act of Union never can be repealed—you part with all controuling powers ;—and therefore it is, and in the name of God and for humanity, I would conjure and implore the House to weigh well the nature and the extent of the vote which it is called upon to give on the present occasion.—It is hard

in any state to circumscribe the power of the supreme body; but it is the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, who are alone competent to make laws for this country—the King cannot make the law, neither is the people bound to obey any ordinance, which proceeds from the House of Lords or Commons in their distinct capacity; the law must be made by them all—that is the law which the people is bound to obey, and no other. And when these powers, in their collective capacity, propose to transfer the power of the state, they should not only consider with the greatest caution, not merely whether the change which they propose is highly advantageous—they should do more—they should consider whether the transfer they intend is agreeable to the majority of the community—the excellence of the measure itself, and the approbation of the majority of the country, is an absolute necessary ingredient to stamp any such exercise of power with validity.—The constituent parts of a state are bound to hold public faith with each other, and with the community; and unless the measure is clearly advantageous, and the people sanction by their consent the transfer of the power of the state, you may as well vote a Union with France, or with Germany, as with England—you have no right to transfer your authority.

It is attempted to be argued that, because the Legislature of Scotland voted Union with another country—because the people of Scotland acceded and submitted to the transfer of their power—that therefore you have a right to do the same, and the people of Ireland must approve your determination.—What is done by another is not always to be drawn into a precedent of what ought to be done by ourselves. I say nothing of the breach of the compact between the Scotch Government and its subjects—the submission of the people caused another compact, and time and submission may have certainly made unalterable that, which in the first instance, might not have been valid.

In a measure of such extraordinary moment as that of the transfer of the supreme power, I say the House before it should countenance it for a single moment, ought to be perfectly satisfied that that measure is of the greatest possible national advantage and utility—neither hope, nor doubt, nor expectation, should influence its determination—I repent it, that a thorough conviction in the bosom of every Senator present, of the expediency and utility of the measure, and a thorough persuasion that a great majority of the country is in favour of the project, is essential to the validity of so momentous an exercise of Legislative authority, and that those who entertain it under any other impression subject themselves to an awful and perilous responsibility.

But I conjure the House to consider well, not only the nature of the measure itself, and the effect which it may have on the country, before it acceded to the present resolution. Under the
Constitution

Constitution of Ireland, we have lived happy, we have all bettered our condition, our country has advanced to greatness with uncommon rapidity—our commerce has encreased—our agriculture improved—our laws have assumed a sublime and impartial character—it has furnished every thing for hope, and nothing for despondency.—It is that Constitution which has given those benefits, to which we have sworn allegiance—and I caution those who would annihilate it for ever, of the heavy weight of responsibility which they must incur in the prosecution of their project.

If the measure is a good one, and you think it deserving of being considered by the country—*dissolve* the Parliament—take the sense of the nation constitutionally—I know no other mode in which the voice of the country can be properly collected. But do not introduce the Placemen whom you have sent out—and call their return an expression of the voice of the nation—give the country fair play—let it speak through its constitutional organ—its voice will have its weight—and you at least will, if you should be disposed to entertain this measure, have a decent colour for your proceedings.

Sir, I do not wish to recur to the unhappy scenes, which have lately so materially injured our country;—but it should be remembered, that the profession, of which I am a member, which, from its education—its habits—its zeal to defend the Constitution in the hour of its danger—that that profession has expressed itself decidedly against this measure, and your incompetency to entertain it;—from the rank which I hold in that profession, many of my friends thought that it may be conducive to the public cause, that I should appear in this House, to give the measure of Union a most decided negative—no other earthly consideration could have induced me to trespass on your patience—I have come forward at their solicitation—and when I tell you *I am an enemy to Union, it is because I am an ardent Friend to his Majesty's Crown, and to British Connection.*

Colonel FITZGERALD said he did not profess to argue the question on the subtleties of lawyers, but upon the plain ground of common sense, and the experience of historical proofs:—Great pains had been taken to shew that Parliament was incompetent to enact an Union; yet if the mere act of Union was a thing invalid from a want of power in the parties to agree upon it, he feared that the Constitution of England was built upon this invalid foundation. The whole history of England was a history of Unions; the whole history of English liberty and English Constitution was an history of Unions; of smaller states coalescing into greater, and acquiring strength from their conjunction. From the Union of the smaller kingdoms of the Heptarchy had grown the kingdom of England; from that of England and

Wales;

Wales had grown the dominion of the Plantagenets and Tudors; and from that of England, Wales and Scotland, the Kingdom of Great Britain; in power, in strength, and in command, the stay and support of the civilised world.—With all these Unions, the strength of the united Countries; the prosperity and the liberties of the people had proportionably increased, and yet it was now denied that the Parliaments of these two kingdoms were competent to unite into one Empire. The experience of history refuted this opinion, and the experience of history testified the advantages of such a measure; in the confidence therefore that the strength, the prosperity, and the liberties of Ireland would be increased by the measure, it should receive his hearty assent.

Mr. JOHNSON supported Lord Castlereagh's motion.

SOLICITER GENERAL supported the motion, as did Mr. GRADY.

The question being put,

Ayes, 158.

Noes, 115.

Tellers for the Ayes, Mr. Solicitor General and Mr. U. Fitzgerald.

Tellers for the Noes, Colonel Verker and Mr. Dawson.

